

PALI GRAMMAR

V. PERNIOLA

The Pali Text Society

Oxford

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By

VITO PERNIOLA S.J.

Published by
THE PALI TEXT SOCIETY
OXFORD

1997

First published 1997

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ISBN 0 86013 354 0

Distributed by Lavis Marketing
73 Lime Walk
Oxford OX3 7AD

Printed in Great Britain by
Antony Rowe Ltd, Chippenham, Wiltshire

PREFACE

This Grammar of the Pali Language represents the research work done during the ten years (1955-1965) I was lecturer in Pali and Buddhism at Aquinas College of Higher Studies (Colombo) preparing the students for the General and the Honours Degrees of the University of London. My research came to an end when the Sri Lankan Government stopped all foreign examinations and so the Grammar is not exhaustive. It is based on the language of the Dhamma and Vinaya Pitakas. It was composed for my students, but even research workers will find it useful for their further studies of the language of the Abhidhamma Pitaka and of the Atthakathas.

Vito Perniola S.J.

Kandy, Sri Lanka,
10 April 1996

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b. Pali Books

AN	Anguttara Nikaya	Pali Text Society edition
Dpd	Dhammapada	The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon (London 1931)
DN	Digha Nikaya	Pali Text Society edition
Itv	Itivuttaka	" " " "
MN	Majjhima Nikaya	" " " "
SN	Samyutta Nikaya	" " " "
Sn	Sutta Nipata	" " " "
Theri	Theri Gatha	" " " "
Ud	Udana	" " " "
VP	Vinaya Pitaka	" " " "

N.B. In the quotations, the Roman number refers to the volume,
 the other two numbers refer to the page and the line
 respectively. If the book is in poetry, the reference is to
 the stanza.

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CHAPTER I

THE ALPHABET

The Pali alphabet consists of 42 letters divided into 8 vowels, 33 consonants, and a nasal sound.

1. **THE VOWELS.** The 8 vowels are *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, o*.

a). The vowels may be divided into

short vowels: *a, i, u*

long vowels: *ā, ī, ū*

vowels of variable length: *e, o*

A short vowel contains one mātrā while a long vowel contains two mātrās.

The vowels *e* and *o* are long when they occur at the end of a syllable as in *e-so* 'this', *do-so* 'fault'; and they are short when they are followed by a consonant with which they make syllable as in *met-tā* 'love', *pot-thakam* 'book'.

b). Further the vowels may be divided into

pure vowels: *a, ā*
 sonant vowels: *i, ī, u, ū*
 diphthongs: *e, o*

A pure vowel is one that is always used as a vowel.

A sonant vowel is one that can serve both as a vowel and as a consonant. The sonants *i, ī, u, ū* remain vowels when followed by a consonant, but are changed into their corresponding semivowel *y* and *v* when followed by a vowel:

<i>vi-karoti</i>	<i>vikaroti</i>	changes
<i>vi-akāsi</i>	<i>vyakāsi</i>	changed
<i>su-kara</i>	<i>sukara</i>	easy
<i>su-ākāra</i>	<i>svākāra</i>	of good disposition

A diphthong results from the union of a pure and a sonant vowel. In Pali both *a-i, ā-i* give rise to *e*, while *a-u, ā-u* give rise to *o*:

<i>pa-ikkhati</i>	<i>pekkhati</i>	looks on
<i>saha-udara</i>	<i>sahodara</i>	brother
<i>mahā-udadhi</i>	<i>mahodadhi</i>	the ocean

To understand some phonetic changes, we have to take into consideration the Sanskrit sonant *r* which in Pali is replaced by one of the vowels: *a, i, u*:

<i>kṛta</i>	<i>kata</i>	done
<i>śṛgāla</i>	<i>sigāla</i>	jackal
<i>prcchati</i>	<i>pucchati</i>	asks

The semivowel of *r* is *ṛ*

2. THE CONSONANTS. The consonants may be divided as follows:

	1	2	3	4	5
Gutturals	<i>k</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gh</i>	<i>ṅ</i>
Palatals	<i>c</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>jh</i>	<i>ñ</i>
Cerebrals	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>ṭh</i>	<i>ḍ</i>	<i>ḍh</i>	<i>ṇ</i>
Dentals	<i>t</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>n</i>
Labials	<i>p</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>m</i>
Liquid consonants:					<i>r, l, ḷ, ḷh</i>
Semivowels:					<i>y, v</i>
Sibilant:					<i>s</i>
Aspirate:					<i>h</i>
Niggahita:					<i>ṁ</i>

N.B. a). According to the organ of articulation, the consonants are divided into gutturals, palatals, cerebrals, dentals, labials.

b). The consonants under 1, 2, 3, 4 are called occlusive or mute consonants since in Sanskrit they are unexploded by themselves but can be pronounced together with a following vowel.

The consonants under 5 are called nasal consonants.

c). According to their quality, the consonants under 1 and 2 and *s* are hard consonants; all the other consonants are soft.

d). The consonants under 2 and 4 and *h* are aspirate consonants, while all the others are unaspirate consonants.

CHAPTER II

PHONOLOGY

3. **THE SYLLABLE.** A word is articulated in syllables. A syllable is a sound made up of a vowel or a group of sounds made up of a vowel and one or more consonants. In the word *āpajjati* there are four syllables: *ā-paj-ja-ti*. Of these the first syllable is made up of a vowel; the second of a consonant, a vowel and a consonant; the third and fourth are made up of a consonant and a vowel.

A vowel by itself can form a syllable since it can be pronounced alone. But a consonant cannot form a syllable since it cannot be pronounced without the help of a vowel.

A syllable may be open or closed
light or heavy

A syllable is open if it ends in a vowel.

A syllable is closed if it ends in a consonant or niggahīta.

In *ā-paj-ja-ti* the first, the third and the fourth syllables are open since they end in a vowel: *ā*-, *-ja*-, *-ti*; while the second syllable is closed since it ends in a consonant: *-paj*-.

A syllable is light if it ends in a short vowel.

A syllable is heavy if it ends in a long vowel or in a consonant or niggahīta. In *u-pa-ri* all the syllables are light since all end in a short vowel; in *ā-dīc-co* all the syllables are heavy since *ā*-/*-co* end in a long vowel, and *-dīc*- ends in a consonant.

In Pali a closed syllable containing a long vowel was considered too heavy; hence the vowel was shortened. Thus in the formation of the future tense of the root *dā*- we should have *dāssāmi*, in which the syllable *dās*- is heavy because it has a long vowel and it is still heavier since it ends in a consonant. Hence the vowel is shortened: *dāssāmi* becomes *dassāmi*. Similarly *rāj-nā* becomes *rājinā/raññā*, *adāsum/adaṃsu*.

A closed syllable with a short vowel and an open syllable with a long vowel are both heavy syllables and are equivalent to each other from the point of view of the time taken in pronouncing them since both contain two mātrās. Thus the syllable *dat*- in *datta* and *dā*- in *dātum* are equivalent. This equivalence has led to several changes in Pali:

a). A long vowel in an open syllable is sometimes shortened and the following consonant is doubled:

<i>mahāphalaṃ</i> / <i>mahapphalaṃ</i>	much fruit
<i>sūyati</i> / <i>suyyati</i>	is heard
<i>diyati</i> / <i>diyyati</i>	is given.

b). A short vowel in a closed syllable is sometimes lengthened and the following group of consonants is simplified:

<i>kattabbam</i> > <i>kātabbam</i>	should be done
<i>kattum</i> > <i>kātum</i>	to do
<i>saṃrāgo</i> > <i>sārāgo</i>	passion
<i>ud-hanti</i> > <i>ūhanti</i>	he cuts off
<i>kad-puriso</i> > <i>kāpuriso</i>	a low man

- c). A vowel followed by a nasal consonant or by niggahīta is sometimes substituted for a long vowel in an open syllable, and also for a short syllable and its following consonant in a closed syllable:

a-kā-suṃ / *a-kaṃ-su* they did

gaṇ-chi / *gañ-chi* he went

vi-das-seti / *vi-daṃ-seti* he shows

4. **Vowel Gradation.** The building up of words in Sanskrit is characterized by the vowel gradation, called also quantitative alternation, or apophony, or ablaut. This vowel gradation is found in Pali though its occurrence is much less frequent than in Sanskrit.

The vowel gradation was originally due to the shift of the accent from one syllable to another. It consists in the fact that the vocalic element of a root or of a suffix appears in one of the following three grades: normal or *guṇa* grade, lengthened or strengthened or *ṛddhi* grade, weak or reduced or zero grade.

The basic vowel gradation is *a:ā:zero*, in which the vowel *a* represents the normal grade, *ā* represents the lengthened grade, and the absence of the vowel represents the zero grade:

as-i : *ās-i* : *s-anti*.

This simple vowel gradation is somewhat complicated when the vowel *a* is preceded or followed by a sonant which may serve as a vowel or as a consonant according to the general rule (1).

The following alternations usually occur:

ay/e : *āy/e* : *i*

av/o : *āv/o* : *u*

ar : *ār* : *r* (Pali: *a, i, u*)

ya : *yā* : *i*

va : *vā* : *u*

chedeti : *acchecchi* (Skt. *acchaitṣit*) : *chinna*

savaniya/sotabba : *sāveti/assosi* (Skt. *asrauṣit*) : *suta*

karoti : *kāreti* : *kata* (Skt. *kṛta*)

yajati : *yājeti* : *ittha* (yittha)

vacati : *vāceti* : *uccati* (vuccati)

In a few cases the vowel *ā* represents the normal grade and alternates with the zero grade: *thā-tuṃ* : *th-ita*.

In a few cases the weak grade has an originally long vowel:

nayati : *nāyaka* : *nīta*

tarati : *tāreti* : *tiṇṇa* (Skt. *tīrṇa*).

5. **SANDHI.** In building up words, i.e. in joining together a root with its prefixes and suffixes, with its case or personal endings, and in joining together two or more words to form compounds, the final and initial sounds of the two consecutive elements or words are combined according to certain rules called **Sandhi rules**.

These sandhi rules may be divided into

vowel sandhi rules

consonant sandhi rules

mixed sandhi rules.

Vowel Sandhi

In the formation of a word, when two vowels come together, they are generally not allowed to remain, but

- they are contracted into one, or
- one of them is elided, or
- a sonant vowel is changed into its corresponding semi-vowel, or
- a consonant is inserted between them.

6. Contraction

- a). When two identical vowels come together, they are contracted into one long vowel of the same kind; i.e.

$a/\bar{a} + a/\bar{a} > \bar{a}$

$i/\bar{i} + i/\bar{i} > \bar{i}$

$u/\bar{u} + u/\bar{u} > \bar{u}$

purisa-ā > *purisā* men

yathā-abhirantam > *yathābhirantam* according to one's pleasure

ati-ita > *atīta* past

bahu-upakāro > *bahūpakāro* great help

According to the general rule already given (3), when a vowel is in a closed syllable, it cannot be long. Hence the long contracted vowel has to be shortened:

kāla-antare > *kālāntare* > *kālantare* at once

rājā-aṅganam > *rājāṅganam* > *rājaṅganam* royal court

Sometimes, however, in the formation of compounds, there is a long vowel in a closed syllable:

sa-attha > *sāttha* with its meaning

sa-akkhara > *sākkhara* with its letters

This way of spelling seems to be due to the influence of the Sanskrit sandhi rules on the scribe.

- b). Sometimes the vowel *a / ā*, followed by a sonant vowel *i / ī* or *u / ū*, is contracted with it to *e* and *o* respectively:

purisa-i > *purise* in the man

pa-ikkhati > *pekkhati* looks on

saha-udara > *sahodara* brother

mahā-udadhi > *mahodadhi* the ocean

7. **ELISION:** When two different vowels come together, usually the first is elided and the second vowel is lengthened if it happens to be in an open syllable:

purisa-ena > *purisena* with the man

diṭṭhi-ogho > *diṭṭhogo* a flood of false doctrines

diṭṭhi-anusayo > *diṭṭhānusayo* inclination to speculation

buddha-uppādo > *buddhuppādo* the arising of a buddha

rājā-upabogho > *rājūpabhogo* fit for the use of the king

mano-indriyam > *manindriyam* the faculty of the mind

but

cakkhu-indriyam > *cakkhundriyam* the faculty of the eyes

dvi-aham > *dvīham* for two days

ti-aham > *tīham* for three days

catu-aham > *catūham* for four days

8 SEMIVOWELS.

- a). The sonant vowels *i / u*, followed by a vowel different from themselves, are sometimes changed into their corresponding semivowel *y / v*:

vi-āsanam > *vyāsanam* misfortune

su-āgataṃ > *svāgataṃ* welcome

nadi-ā > *nadyā* > *najjā* of the river

jāti-o > *jātyo* > *jācco* births

- b). The diphthongs *e / o*, followed by a vowel, are resolved into their component elements:

e > *a-i / ā-i* and *o* > *a-u / ā-u*, and then the vowel *i / u* is changed into its corresponding semivowel:

ne-ati > *na-i-ati* > *nayati* leads

ne-ako > *nā-i-ako* > *nāyako* leader

agge-o > agga-i-o > aggayo fires

bho-atī > bha-u-atī > bhavati becomes

so-ako > sā-u-ako > sāvako disciple

bhikkhu-o > bhikkha-u-o bhikkhavo monks

c). The vowels *i/ī* and *u/ū* in the declension of the feminine stems are changed into *iy/uy* respectively when followed by a vowel:

jāti-ā > jātiyā of birth

nadī-am > nadīyam in the river

dhenu-o > dhenuyo cows

vadhū-ā > vadhuyā of a widow

The vowel *ū* of the root *hū-* is changed to *uv-* before a vowel:

ahū-am > ahuvam I was

9. INSERTION OF A CONSONANT. In the formation of a samāsa, sometimes a consonant is inserted between the final and the initial vowel of the two words that are joined together:

su-anayo > su-v-anayo > suvanayo easy to lead

atta-attham > atta-d-attham > attadattham one's own welfare

sotāpatti-aṅgāni > sotāpatti-y-aṅgāni > sotāpattiyaṅgāni
the factors of attaining the stream

Sometimes, however, it is not a case of inserting a consonant but of restoring a Sanskrit final consonant which drops when it is final of a word, and re-appears in combination: thus *cha* 'six' appears in combination as *cha-* / *sa-* / *cha-*:

chalabhiññā / chadabhiññā the six higher powers

saḷāyatanaṃ the sixfold sphere

N.B In the formation of a samāsa there are found cases where two vowels are retained side by side, and this not only in poetry but in prose also:

sa-uddesaṃ with its explanation

sa-uttaracchadam together with its covering

10. FURTHER VOWEL CHANGES.

a). The vowels *i/ī* and *u*, followed by a double consonant, are sometimes changed into *e/o* respectively:

chid-tvā > chetvā having cut

jī-tvā > jetvā having won

nī-tvā > netvā having led

bhuj-tvā > bhutvā / bhotvā having eaten

Similarly the vowel *i + y*, sometimes changes to *e* and the following *y* is doubled:

pūjaniya / pūjaneyya should be worshipped

dassaniya / dassaneyya should be seen

b). The group *aya/ava* are usually contracted to *e/o* respectively:

kathayati / katheti speaks

nayati / neti leads

avatarati / otarati comes down

ajjhayana / ajjhena education

avakāso / okāso leisure

In the word *avaññātabba*, *ava* is changed to *o* and this vowel is shortened to *u*:

avaññātabba > oññātabba > uññātabba should not be dishonoured

The vowel *e* is sometimes expanded to *aya*:

seti / sayati sleeps

senāsanam / sayanāsanam bed

acceti / accayati goes beyond

In verbal forms the groups *ayā/āya/āyā* are often contracted to *e*:

palāyati / *paleti* runs

nayāmi / *nemi* I lead

bhāyāmi / *bhemi* I am afraid

Avi is sometimes contracted to *e* and *āya* to *ā*

bhavissati > *havissati* > *hessati* will be

abhavisun > *ahavisun* > *ahesun* were

abhiññāya > *abhiññā* having understood

chamāya > *chamā* on the ground

c). Sometimes a vowel is weakened when preceded by an accented syllable:

dakkhati / *dakkhiti* will see

kāhati / *kāhiti* will do

d). When a word begins with *i* / *u*, often the corresponding semivowel is prefixed:

uccati > *vuccati* is said

utthita > *vuṭṭhita* climbed

iṭṭha > *yīṭṭha* sacrificed

Similarly we find *oropeti* and *voropeti*.

e). At the end of a word the group *as* > *o*:

manas > *mano* mind

In the second person singular of the aorist, we may find *as* giving rise to *a* / *o*: *adaś* > *adā* / *ado*.

Consonant Sandhi Rules

11. PHONETIC CHANGES. The various phonetic changes which groups of consonants undergo in Pali can be classified under the following headings:

a). Assimilation

b). Adaptation

c). Metathesis

d). Epenthesis

e). Aspiration

f). Simplification

a). Assimilation. Assimilation consists in making two consonants similar to one another:

tap-ta > *tatta* burnt

sat-kāro > *sakkāro* good treatment

dur-ga > *dugga* difficult road

āgam-ya > *āgamma* having come

sak-noti > *sakkoti* he can

Assimilation can be progressive

regressive

reciprocal

Assimilation is progressive when the first consonant assimilates the second to itself

agam-ya > *āgamma*

sak-noti > *sakkoti*

Assimilation is regressive when the second consonant assimilates the first to itself:

tap-ta > *tatta*

dur-ga > *dugga*

Assimilation is reciprocal when both consonants are modified in adapting themselves to one another:

<i>labh-ta</i>	>	<i>laddha</i>	obtained
<i>rāj-nā</i>	>	<i>raññā</i>	with the king
<i>budh-yati</i>	>	<i>bujjhati</i>	he awakes
<i>is-ta</i>	>	<i>ittha</i>	desired

In *labh-ta* the second consonant becomes soft like the preceding one and then the first consonant is assimilated to it:

labh-ta > *labhda* > *laddha*

In *rāj-nā* the second consonant becomes palatal like the preceding one and then the first consonant is assimilated to it:

rāj-nā > *rājñā* > *raññā*

In *budh-yati* the first consonant becomes palatal like the second and then the second is assimilated to the first:

budh-yati > *bujhyati* > *bujjhati*

In *is-ta* the dental consonant is cerebralized under the influence of the previous sibilant preceded by the vowel *i* and then the sibilant is assimilated to it and aspirated:

is-ta > *is-ta* > *ittha*

- b). **Adaptation:** When a nasal consonant is followed by a mute consonant, the nasal consonant is adapted to it in so far as it passes to the nasal consonant of the *varga* of the following consonant:

<i>sam-tiṭṭhati</i>	>	<i>santiṭṭhati</i>	stands
<i>sam-carati</i>	>	<i>sañcarati</i>	goes about
<i>sam-thanam</i>	>	<i>saṇṭhānam</i>	position

Assimilation also takes place when a mute consonant is followed by another mute consonant of different quality or by a sibilant in such a way that a hard consonant must be preceded by a hard consonant and a soft consonant by a soft consonant:

bhed-ssati > *bhet-ssati* > *bhecchati* will break-

- c). **Metathesis** or interchange of two consonants:

<i>gah-ṇati</i>	>	<i>ganhati</i>	takes
<i>oruh-ya</i>	>	<i>oruyha</i>	having come down
<i>pāpurati</i>	>	<i>pārupati</i>	dresses

- d). **Epenthesis** or insertion of a vowel between two consonants

<i>rāj-no</i>	>	<i>rājino</i>	of the king
<i>brahm-no</i>	>	<i>brahmuno</i>	of Brahma

- e). **Aspiration** of a consonant:

<i>as-ti</i>	>	<i>atthi</i>	is
<i>is-ta</i>	>	<i>ittha</i>	desired

- f). **Simplification** of a consonant group or the reduction of three consonants to two, and of two consonant to one:

<i>bhed-ssati</i>	>	<i>bhet-ssati</i>	>	<i>bhet-sati</i>	>	<i>bhecchati</i>	he will break		
<i>kar-tum</i>	>	<i>kattum</i>	>	<i>kātum</i>			to do		
<i>kar-ssāmi</i>	>	<i>kasssāmi</i>	>	<i>kassāmi</i>	>	<i>kāsāmi</i>	>	<i>kāhāmi</i>	I will do

12. **GENERAL RULES:** In Pali the consonants can be divided according to their strength or power of resistance. This strength decreases in the following order: mutes, sibilant, nasal, *l, v, y, r*

The consonant *h* is found in a few combinations while the consonants *l, ḷh* are not found in combination.

When two consonants come together:

- a). if both consonants are of the same strength, the first is assimilated to the second:

<i>sat-kāro</i>	>	<i>sakkāro</i>	good treatment
<i>tap-ta</i>	>	<i>tatta</i>	burnt

- b). If the two consonants are of different strength, the weaker is assimilated to the stronger:

kar-tum > *kattum* to act

āgam-ya > *āgamma* having come

- c). No aspirate consonant can precede another consonant; hence if one of the consonants is aspirate, the new group has the aspiration in the second consonant:

ārabbh-ya > *ārabbha*

- d) When one of the two consonant is *s*, the new group has the aspiration in the second consonant:

as-ti > *atthi* is

is-ta > *iṭṭha* desired

- e). When two mute consonants come together, the first must be adapted to the second; i.e. a consonant must be soft if followed by a soft consonant, and it must be hard if followed by a hard consonant:

bhed-ssati > *bhet-ssati* and then further changes take place leading to *bhecchati*.

Though these rules apply to most of the changes that occur when two or three consonants come together, yet each group of consonants will be treated separately as follows:

1. Mute consonants:

- mute - mute
- mute - sibilant and sibilant - mute
- mute - nasal and nasal - mute
- mute - *l, v, y, r* and *l, v, y, r* - mute
- mute - *h* and *h* - mute

2. Sibilant consonants:

- sibilant - sibilant
- sibilant - nasal and nasal - sibilant
- sibilant - *l, v, y, r* and *l, v, y, r* - sibilant

3. Nasal consonant:

- nasal - nasal
- nasal - *l, v, y, r* and *r - n, r - m*
- nasal - *h* and *h - nasal*

4. *l, v, y, r*

r - h

13. MUTE CONSONANTS:

- a). **Mute - mute:** when two mute consonants come together, the first is assimilated to the second since both are of the same strength:

yuj-ta > *yutta* joined

mad-ta > *matta* intoxicated

tad-kāro > *takkāro* he who does that

sat-puriso > *sappuriso* good man

The consonant *t* however, preceded by one of the soft aspirate consonants *gh, dh, bh*, is first softened to *d* and then assimilation takes place:

labh-tum > *labh-dum* > *laddhum* to obtain

lubh-ta > *lubh-da* > *luddha* greedy

budh-ta > *budh-da* > *buddha* enlightened

Sometimes the consonants *j* and *ch* cause the cerebralization and aspiration of the following dental, and then assimilation takes place:

ossaj-ta > *ossaj-ṭha* > *ossatṭha* released

maj-ta > *maj-ṭha* > *maṭṭha* polished

ij-ta > *ij-ṭha* > *yitṭha* sacrificed

pucch-ta > *pucch-ṭha* > *putṭha* questioned

b). Mute-sibilant : when the guttural consonant *k* is followed by *s*, the weaker consonant is assimilated to the stronger:

sak-ssati > *sakkhati* will be able

When *c* is followed by *s*, the palatal consonant is changed to the guttural and then assimilation takes place:

vac-ssati > *vak-ssati* > *vakkhati* will speak

bhoj-ssati > *bhok-ssati* > *bhokkhati* will eat

moc-ssati > *mok-ssati* > *mokkhati* will be released

The mute consonants *t* / *p*, with a following *s*, give rise to the palatal group *cch*:

labh-ssati > *lap-ssati* > *lacchati* will obtain

ched-ssati > *chet-ssati* > *checchati* will cut

acched-si > *acchet-si* > *acchecchi* cut

The final consonant of the prefix *ud* follows the general rule in:

ud-saṅgo *ut-saṅgo* *ucchaṅgo* the hip

ud-sādanam *ut-sādanam* *ucchādanam* massaging

ud-siṭṭha *ut-siṭṭha* *ucchiṭṭha* left over

In all other cases the final *d* is assimilated to a following *s*:

ud-saṅkha *ussaṅkha* with ankles midway

ud-sāho *ussaḥo* strength

sam-ud-sayo *samussayo* body

Sibilant-mute: The sibilant, followed by a mute consonant, is assimilated to it:

as-ti *atthi* is

adas-tha *adattha* you gave

In some cases the sibilant cerebralizes a following dental consonant *t* and then is assimilated to it:

pavis-ta *pavis-ta* *paviṭṭha* entered

kilis-ta *kilis-ta* *kiliṭṭha* soiled

is-ta *is-ta* *iṭṭha* desired

The cerebralization of a following dental takes place when the sibilant is preceded by the vowel *i* / *u*, or by one of the vowels *a*, *i*, *u* derived from Sanskrit *ṛ*. In the *s-* and *is-* aorists, however, the sibilant never causes the cerebralization of the following dental

cintayis-tha *cintayittha* you thought

ahus-tha *ahuttha* you were

agamis-tha *agamittha* you went

pucchis-tho *pucchittho* you asked

In forming compounds *nis* and *dus* never cause the cerebralization of a following dental:

dus-tara *duttara* difficult to cross

nis-tarati *nittharati* crosses over

The final sibilant of *dus* never causes the aspiration of a following mute consonant:

dus-tara *duttara* difficult to cross

dus-kara *dukkara* difficult to do

dus-caritam *duccaritam* evil life

The final sibilant of *nis* sometimes causes the aspiration of a following mute consonant, and sometimes does not

nis-cala *niccala* motionless

nis-kodha *nikkodha* free from anger

nis-purisa *nippurisa* without men

but

nis-carati *niccharati* goes out

nis-cināti *nicchināti* examines

<i>nīs-patti</i>	<i>nippatti</i>	accomplishment'
<i>nīs-pajjati</i>	<i>nippajjati</i>	accomplishes
<i>nīs-kamati</i>	<i>nikkamati / nikkhamati</i>	goes out
<i>nīs-patati</i>	<i>nippatati / nipphatati</i>	falls out

The sibilant drops when it occurs between two mute consonants:

alabh-s-tha alap-s-tha alap-tha alattha he obtained

c). **Mute-nasal:** When a mute consonant is followed by a nasal, the usual assimilation takes place;

sak-noti sakkoti he can

lag-na lagga sticking

The consonant *j*, however, followed by a nasal, is first changed to *g* and then assimilation takes place:

bhaj-na bhag-na bhagga broken

samvij-na samvig-na samvigga agitated

nimuj-na nimug-na nimugga plunged

In the declension of *rājan*, the consonant *j* palatalizes the following nasal and becomes assimilated to it:

rāj-nā rāj-ñā raññā

or the consonant group is split up by means of a vowel:

rāj-nā rāj-i-nā rājinā

The consonant *d* is assimilated to a following nasal:

ud-nādo unnādo shout

ud-maggo ummaggo wrong way

nīsīd-na nīsīnna seated

Nasal-mute: a nasal consonant, followed by a mute, is adapted to it, i.e. it is changed to the nasal of the *varga* of the following mute consonant

<i>sam-gacchati</i>	<i>saṅgacchati</i>	he meets with
<i>sam-jānāti</i>	<i>sañjānāti</i>	recognizes
<i>sam-ṭhānam</i>	<i>saṇṭhānam</i>	position
<i>sam-pajjati</i>	<i>sampajjati</i>	happens

When the root *kr* and its derivatives are compounded with *sam*, then an *s* is inserted:

sam-karoti sam-s-karoti saṅkharoti he puts together

d). **Mute and l,v,y,r:** When a mute consonant is preceded or followed by one of the consonants *l,v,y,r*, the usual assimilation takes place:

kup-yati kuppati is angry

kar-tabbam kattabbam ought to be done

dur-bala dubbala weak

nir-gacchati niggacchati disappears

The dental consonants, however, *t, th, d, dh + y* give rise to a palatal group:

t-y cc th-y cch

d-y jj dh-y jjh

ati-anta atyanta accanta continuous

budh-yati bujjhati is awake

Even the consonant *ṭ* of *paṭi* gives rise to a palatal group when the following *i* is changed to *y*:

paṭi-aṅgam paṭy-aṅgam paccāṅgam small limb

The consonant *d* of the prefix *ud* is assimilated to a following *y*:

ud-yuñjati uyyuñjati goes away

ud-yāti uyyāti goes out

- e). Mute and h: The consonant *d* of the prefix *ud* is dropped before an *h* and the previous vowel is lengthened:

ud-hanati *ūhanati* cuts off

h + *t* give rise to *ḥ* with the lengthening of the previous vowel.

muh-ta *mūḥa* gone astray

ruh-ta *rūḥa* climbed

but

duh-ta *duddha* milked

nah-ta *naddha* bound

dah-ta *daḍḍha* burnt

14. SIBILANT CONSONANTS

- a). Sibilant-sibilant: When two sibilants come together, they give rise sometimes to *ks* > *kkh*, and sometimes to *ts* > *cch*:

paves-ssati *paveksati* *pavekkhati* will enter

das-ssati *daksati* *dakkhati* will see

vas-ssati *vatsati* *vacchati* will abide

- b). Sibilant-nasal: When the sibilant precedes a nasal consonant, the sibilant is changed to *h*, and then it is transposed after the nasal:

adāsma *adāhma* *adamha* we gave

agamis-ma *agamihma* *agamimha* we went

In some words, however, the change of *s* to *h* is optional:

agarasmā / *agāramhā* from the house

rukkasmim / *rukkamhi* under the tree

asmi / *amhi* I am

asma / *amha* we are

When a nasal precedes the sibilant, it is changed to *niggahita*:

sam-sāro *samsāro* transmigration

- c). Sibilant - *l, v, y, r*: When the sibilant precedes or follows the consonants *l, v, y, r*, the usual assimilation takes place:

nas-yati *nassati* perishes

tejas-vin *tejassin* shining

When *r* is assimilated to a following sibilant, the consonant group is sometimes simplified:

vihar-sit *vihasit* *vihāsi* he dwelt

15. NASAL CONSONANTS:

- a). Nasal-nasal: A nasal consonant, followed by another nasal consonant, is assimilated to it:

sam-nisīdati *sannisīdati* he sinks down

- b). Nasal-*l, v, y, r*:

n-y > *ññ*

man-yati *maññati* thinks

akiñcan-ya *akiñcañña* nothingness

n-u > *nv* and sometimes *nn*:

anu-eti *anveti* follows

anu-agā *anvagā* went after

anu-aya *anvaya* conformity

duranu-aya *durannaya* difficult to find

sam-anu-āgata *samannāgata* endowed with

m-y > *mm, my, ññ*:

āgam-ya *āgamma* having come

sam-yogo *samyogo/saññogo* bond

m-r > *mr* or the *m* is dropped and the preceding vowel is lengthened:

<i>sam-ruhati</i>	<i>samruhati</i>	grows
<i>sam-rambho</i>	<i>samrambho</i> / <i>sārambho</i>	impetuosity
<i>m-l</i> > <i>ll</i>		
<i>sam-lāpo</i>	<i>sallāpo</i>	conversation
<i>sam-līna</i>	<i>sallīna</i>	sluggish
<i>m-v</i> > <i>mv</i>	<i>sam-varo</i> <i>samvaro</i>	restraint

r-n > *ññ*

<i>pūr-na</i>	<i>puñña</i>	filled
<i>tīr-na</i>	<i>tiñña</i>	crossed

But the final *r* of *dur* does not cause the cerebralization of the nasal:

<i>dur-niggaha</i>	<i>dunniggaha</i>	difficult to restrain
<i>dur-nivāraya</i>	<i>dunnivāraya</i>	difficult to check

r-m > *mm*

<i>kar-ma</i>	<i>kamma</i>	action
<i>dhar-mo</i>	<i>dhammo</i>	law

c). *h-nasal*: When *h* is followed by a nasal consonant, it changes place with it:

gah-ñāti *gañhāti* takes

16. *l, v, y, r*

l-y > *ly* / *ll*

<i>kal-ya</i>	<i>kalya</i> / <i>kalla</i>	well
<i>dussil-yam</i>	<i>dussilyam</i>	wickedness

v-y > *vy* *vi-anta* *vy-anta* *vyanta* end

v-y > *by* *vi-ākaroti* *vyākaroti* / *byākaroti* explains

v-y > *bb* *siv-yati* *sibbati* sews

v-y > *viy* *vi-akta* *vyatta* and *viyatta* experienced

v-y > *v* *vi-adta* *vatta* opened wide

r-r the first *r* is dropped and the preceding vowel is lengthened.

dur-rāma *dūrāma* difficult to enjoy

dur-rakkha *dūrakkha* difficult to protect

r-y > *ry* *kar-yā* *karyā* should do

r-y > *r* with the lengthening of the preceding vowel:

kir-yati *kīrati* *kīrati* is done

r-y > *yy* *mir-yati* *mīyyati* he dies

r-y > *riy* *pakir-ya* *pakīriya* having scattered

r-y > *yir* *kar-yā* *kayrā* *kayirā* ought to do

r-y > *ll* *pari-añko* *paryanko* and *pallāñko* couch

vi-pari-āso *viparyāso* *vipallāso* change

r-v > *bb* *nir-vindati* *nīvvindati* *nībbindati* becomes weary

r-h > *h* with the lengthening of the preceding vowel:

nir-hāro *nīhāro* manner

h-y > *yh* *oruh-ya* *oruyha* having come down

h-v > *vh* *bahu-ābādho* *bahv-ābādho* *bavhābādho* great suffering

17. SIMPLIFICATION OF CONSONANT GROUPS:

a). **Simplification of groups of two consonants:** Sometimes two consonants are reduced to one with the lengthening of the previous vowel:

kar-tum *kattum* *kātum* to do

dassasi *dāsasi* *dāhisi* he will give

- b) **Simplification of intervocalic groups of three consonants:** In Pali there are no groups of three consonants; hence when three consonants come together, they are reduced to two consonants, and sometimes even to one consonant only with the lengthening of the preceding vowel:

<i>ched-ssati</i>	<i>chet-ssati</i>	<i>chetsati</i>	<i>checchati</i>	will cut
<i>har-ssasi</i>	<i>har-sasi</i>	<i>hassasi</i>	<i>hasasi</i>	<i>hāhasi</i> / <i>hahasi</i>
				you will carry

The only exceptions seem to be

<i>hantvā</i>	having struck
<i>gantvā</i>	having gone
<i>indriyam</i>	sense faculty

In composition we have

<i>aggi-agāram</i>	<i>aggyāgāram</i>	<i>aggyagārām</i>	fire house
<i>aggi-antarāyo</i>	<i>aggyantarāyo</i>	<i>danger</i>	arising from fire

18. **INSERTION OF A VOWEL.** Sometimes two or three consonants are not assimilated but a vowel is inserted between them. The vowel inserted is usually *i*, but the vowels *a*, *u*, *o* are also found:

<i>rāj-nā</i>	<i>rājinā</i> / <i>raññā</i>	with the king
<i>nisiñc-ya</i>	<i>nisiñciya</i>	having sprinkled
<i>brahm-no</i>	<i>brahmuno</i>	of Brahma
<i>brahm-ni</i>	<i>brahmani</i>	in Brahma
<i>golmika</i>	<i>golomika</i>	like a cluster

Mixed Sandhi Rules

19. **Restoration of a consonant group:** When a word in Sanskrit begins with a consonant group, in Pali these consonants are assimilated according to the general rules already mentioned and then only

one consonant is retained. The consonant group, however, usually reappears when preceded by a prefix or by another word ending in a vowel:

jñāta > *ññāta* > *ñata* known

but in the aorist, with the prefix *a*, becomes *aññāsī* he knew

Similarly in compound verbs

ñāta *abhiññāta* renowned

suta *bahussuta* much heard of

gañhāti *aggaheṣi* took

20. **Group -as:** The group *-as* at the end of a word becomes *-o*:

<i>manas</i>	<i>mano</i>	mind
<i>tejas</i>	<i>tejo</i>	splendour
<i>purisas</i>	<i>puriso</i>	man

In the aorist, second person singular, the group *-ās* gives rise to *-ā* and sometimes even to *-o*. *adās* > *adā* / *ado*

The pronoun *sas* usually becomes *so*, but the form *sa* is also found in poetry.

21. **Loss of occlusion.** Sometimes a soft aspirate consonant loses its occlusion and retains only the aspiration:

<i>rudhira</i> / <i>ruhira</i>	red
<i>bhavati</i> / <i>havati</i> > <i>hoti</i>	becomes
<i>narebhi</i> / <i>narehi</i>	with men
<i>pabhuta</i> / <i>pahūta</i>	abundant
<i>dhā-</i> > <i>hita</i>	in the past participle.

22. **Loss of final consonant.** In Pali no word ends in a full consonant; hence when a nasal consonant comes at the end of a word, it is changed into *niggahita* while any other consonant is dropped.

<i>rupa-m</i>	<i>rūpaṃ</i>	object
<i>vasant</i>	<i>vasan</i>	<i>vasam</i> abiding
<i>adāsīt</i>	<i>adāsi</i>	gave

In composition, however, a final consonant is often restored:

puna but *punar-puna* > *punappuna* again and again

23. Haplology: A case of haplology is found in
ajja-junha > *ajjunha* this moonlight night

CHAPTER III

DECLENSIONS

24. Declension. A declension is the inflection of a nominal stem by means of endings that indicate the gender, the number, and the case. In Pali there are

three genders: masculine, feminine, neuter

two numbers: singular, plural

seven cases: nominative, vocative, accusative, instrumental, ablative, genitive, locative.

The gender in Pali is distinguished by the ending of the nominative case, independently of the meaning of the word; hence it is called **grammatical gender** as opposed to the natural gender. The words *maggo*, *vattani*, *vaṭumam* are respectively masculine, feminine and neuter in gender, yet all of them mean **road**. In the inflection, the masculine and the neuter nouns are declined in the same way with the exception of the nominative, vocative and accusative singular and plural. The feminine nouns have different case endings.

The adjectives are declined in all the three genders just like the nouns of the masculine, feminine and neuter gender. The adjective *kusala* is declined like *puriso* in the masculine, like *vanitā* in the feminine, and like *rūpam* in the neuter: *kusalo*, *kusala*, *kusalam*

The case endings are added to the stem of the noun. A stem may end in a vowel or in a consonant; hence the division into vowel and consonant stems. The stems that end in the vowel *a-* are called thematic stems.

Declension of vowel stems

The stems that end in a vowel may be divided into two groups: masculine and neuter stems
feminine stems.

The masculine and neuter stems are subdivided into:
stems in *-a*
stems in *-i*, *-u*, *-ū*
stems in *-o*

The feminine stems are subdivided into:
stems in *-ā*
stems in *-ī*, *-ī*, *-u*, *-ū*

25. Stems in *-a*: *purisa* 'man' (masc.); *rūpa* 'material object' (neuter).

S i n g u l a r			P l u r a l	
N	<i>puriso</i>	<i>-s</i>	<i>purisā</i>	<i>-as</i>
V	<i>purisa</i>		<i>purisā</i>	<i>-as</i>
A	<i>purisam</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>purise</i>	<i>-e</i>
I	<i>purisena</i>	<i>-ena</i>	<i>purisehi</i>	<i>-ehi</i>
Ab	<i>purisā</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>purisehi</i>	<i>-ehi</i>
	<i>purisasmā</i>	<i>-sma</i>		
	<i>purisamhā</i>	<i>-mhā</i>		

G	<i>purisassa</i>	<i>-ssa</i>	<i>purisānam</i>	<i>-nam</i>
L	<i>purise</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>purisesu</i>	<i>-esu</i>
	<i>purisasmim</i>	<i>-smim</i>		
	<i>purisamhi</i>	<i>-mhi</i>		
N V A	<i>rupam</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>rupāni</i>	<i>-ni</i>

In the other cases, the neuter stems are declined like the masculine stems: *rūpena*, *rūpassa*, *rūpasniā*, *rūpasmiṃ*, *rūpehi*, etc.

- In a few cases there is found a nominative singular in *-e* both in the masculine and in the neuter stems: *purise* 'man', *manusse* 'man', *putte* 'son', *paṇḍite* 'learned man', *bāle* 'foolish man', *nāge* 'elephant', *sigāle* 'jackal', *jīvite* 'life', *sukhe* 'happiness', *dukkhe* 'sorrow', *saṃyojana* 'bond'.
- In the nominative plural of the masculine stems there is sometimes the ending *-āse*, especially in poetry: *paṇḍitāse* 'learned men', *upāsakāse* 'disciples', *gatāse* 'gone', *rukkhāse* 'trees'.
- In the neuter stems there is sometimes a nominative plural in *-ā* and an accusative plural in *-e*: *rūpā*, *rūpe* instead of *rūpāni*.
- The instrumental singular is sometimes formed with the ending *-ā* added to the stem either directly or by means of the consonant *-s-*: *sahatthā* 'with one's own hand', *pādā* 'with the foot', *uppādā* 'with the arising', *vegasā* 'in a hurry', *balasā* 'with strength'.
- There are a few instances of a case in *-āya* corresponding to the Sanskrit dative case: *hitāya* 'for the welfare', *sukhāya* 'for the happiness', *dassanāya* 'to see', *saṃvarāya* 'to control'.
- The ablative singular is also formed with the suffix *-to*. *durato* 'from afar', *gharato* 'from the house', *gāmato* 'from the village', *dukkhato* 'from suffering'.

g). In the formation of the cases:

- in the nominative singular the final vowel of the stem *-a* with the ending *-s* gives rise to *-o*: *purisa-s* > *puriso*
- in the plural the vowel *-a* with *-as* gives rise to *ā*: *purisa-as* > *purisā*
- the final vowel of the stem is lengthened before the endings beginning with *n-*:
purisa-nam > *purisānam*; *rūpa-ni* > *rūpāni*
- the final vowel of the stem is dropped before an ending beginning with *-e*: *purisa-ena* > *purisena*; *purisa-ehi* > *purisehi*; *purisa-esu* > *purisesu*

26. Stems in *-i*, *-u*: *aggi* 'fire', *taru* 'tree' (masc.), *akkhi* 'eye' *cakkhu* 'eye' (neuter).

Singular:

N. V.	<i>aggi</i>	<i>taru</i>	
A	<i>aggiṃ</i>	<i>tarum</i>	<i>-m</i>
I	<i>aggiṇā</i>	<i>tarunā</i>	<i>-nā</i>
Ab	<i>aggiṇā</i>	<i>tarunā</i>	<i>-nā</i>
	<i>aggismā</i>	<i>tarusmā</i>	<i>-smā</i>
	<i>aggimhā</i>	<i>tarumhā</i>	<i>-mhā</i>
G	<i>aggino</i>	<i>taruno</i>	<i>-no</i>
	<i>aggissa</i>	<i>tarussa</i>	<i>-ssa</i>
L	<i>aggismim</i>	<i>tarusmim</i>	<i>-smim</i>
	<i>aggimhi</i>	<i>tarumhi</i>	<i>-mhi</i>

Plural:

N V A	<i>aggayo</i>	<i>taravo</i>	<i>-o</i>
	<i>aggi</i>	<i>tarū</i>	

I Ab	<i>aggihi</i>	<i>tarūhi</i>	<i>-hi</i>
G	<i>aggiṇam</i>	<i>tarūṇam</i>	<i>-nam</i>
L	<i>aggisu</i>	<i>tarūsu</i>	<i>-su</i>

Singular

Plural

N V A	<i>akkhi</i>	<i>cakkhu</i>	<i>akkhīni</i>	<i>cakkhuni</i>	<i>-ni</i>
	<i>akkhiṃ</i>	<i>cakkhum</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>akkhī</i>	<i>cakkhū</i>

In the other cases the neuter stems are declined like the masculine stems: *akkhinā*, *cakkhunā*, *akkhismā*, *cakkhusmā*, etc.

- a). In the N V A plural the vowel of the stem is lengthened before the ending *-o*, i.e. the vowel *-i* is lengthened to *-e* and the vowel *-u* to *-o*.

aggi-o > *agge-o* > *aggayo*

taru-o > *taro-o* > *taravo*

- b). Before the case endings of the plural, the final vowel of the stem is lengthened:

aggi-hi > *aggihi*, *aggi-nam* > *aggiṇam*, *chakku-su* > *chakkūsu*.

- c). In poetry sometimes the accusative takes the ending *-nam*:

nidhunam for *nidhum* treasure

bhikkunam for *bhikkhum* monk

- d). The ablative is sometimes formed with the suffix *-to*: *aggito*, *cakkhuto*.

Hetu 'cause' has an ablative form *hetu* besides *hetunā* and *hetusmā*. There is further an ablative in *-so* used as an adverb: *ādiso* 'from the beginning', *hetuso* 'by way of cause'.

- e). In the locative case *ādi* 'beginning' has sometimes *ādo* besides the ordinary form *ādumhi*; *pamsu* 'sand' has *pamsuni*. There is also a locative form *divi* 'in heaven'

- f). In poetry the nominative plural sometimes takes the ending -no' *aggino* for *aggayo* 'fires', *sumatino* for *sumatayo* 'wise', *mahesino* for *mahasayo* 'sages'.
- g). In the vocative plural *bhikkhu* has both *bhikkhavo* and *bhikkhave*; the latter form is more common.
- h). In the genitive plural *bahu* 'much' has *bahunnam*.
- i). The stem *sakhi* 'friend' is found almost exclusively in poetry, while in prose it is usually replaced by the word *sahāyaka*. *Sakhi* has a variety of forms of which the following are the more common ones:

In the singular *N V sakhā*, *A sakhāram* and *sakham*, *I* and *Ab sakhinā*, *Ab sakhārasma*, *G sakhino*.

In the plural *N V A sakhāro* *I Ab sakhārehi*, *G sakhīnam* and *sakhānam*, *L sakhāresu*.

27 Stems in -ū: *abhibhū* 'conqueror' (masc.)

Singular		Plural	
<i>N V</i>	<i>abhibhū</i>	<i>N V A</i>	<i>abhibhuno abhibhū</i>
<i>A</i>	<i>abhibhunam</i> <i>abhibhum</i>		
<i>I Ab</i>	<i>abhibhunā</i>	<i>I Ab</i>	<i>abhibhūhi</i>
<i>G</i>	<i>abhibhuno</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>abhibhūnam</i>
<i>L</i>	<i>abhibhusmim</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>abhibhūsu</i>

- a). The declension of these stems differs from that of the stems in -u only in the *N V A*.
- b). Like *abhibhū* are declined *vidū* and *lokavidū* 'knower of the world', *paragū* 'he who has gone to the other shore', *vedagū* 'he who has mastered the Vedas', *abhiyhalū* 'covetous', *aviddasū* 'ignorant'.

28 Stems in -o: *go* 'cattle' (masc.)

Singular		Plural	
<i>N V</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>gāvo</i>	<i>gavo</i>
<i>A</i>	<i>gāvam gavam</i>	<i>gāvo</i>	<i>gavo</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>gāvena gavena</i>	<i>gohi</i>	
<i>Ab</i>	<i>gāvā gavā</i> <i>gāvasmā gavasmā</i>	<i>gohi</i>	
<i>G</i>	<i>gāvassa gavassa</i>	<i>gāvam gonam gunnam</i>	
<i>L</i>	<i>gāve gave</i> <i>gāvasmim gavasmim</i>	<i>gāvesu gavesu gosu</i>	

Go is the only stem that ends in -o. In the singular, with the exception of the nominative, it is declined like *purisa* with the vowel of the first syllable either long or short. In the plural the group -ava- has been contracted to -o-, hence *gohi*, *gonam*, *gosu*. Further in the genitive plural the vowel -o- has been shortened to -u- and the consonant has been doubled: *gonam* and *gunnam*.

29. Stems in -ā: *vanitā* 'girl' (femin.)

Singular		Plural	
<i>N</i>	<i>vanitā</i>	<i>N V A</i>	<i>vanitāyo -yo</i> <i>vanitā</i>
<i>V</i>	<i>vanite -i</i>		
<i>A</i>	<i>vanitam -m</i>		
<i>I Ab</i>	<i>vanitāya -ya</i>	<i>vanitāhi -hi</i>	
<i>G</i>	<i>vanitāya -ya</i>	<i>vanitānam -nam</i>	
<i>L</i>	<i>vanitāyam -yam</i> <i>vanitaya</i>	<i>vanitāsu -su</i>	

- a) In the singular the ending *-āya* is sometimes contracted to *-ā*: *chamā* for *chamāya* 'on the ground', *sikkhā* for *sikkhāya* 'by means of training'.
- b). The ablative singular is sometimes formed with the suffix *-to* before which the final vowel of the stem is shortened: *nāvato* 'from the boat', *jivhato* 'from the tongue'. There is also an ablative in *-so* used adverbially: *mattaso* 'with moderation'.
- c). In the vocative singular *amma* 'mother' has both *ammā* and *amma*.

30 Feminine stems in *-i*, *-ī*, *-u*, *-ū*: *jāti* 'birth', *nadi* 'river', *dhenu* 'cow', *vadhū* 'daughter-in-law'

Singular

N V	<i>jāti</i>	<i>nadi</i>	<i>dhenu</i>	<i>vadhū</i>
A	<i>jātim</i>	<i>nadim</i>	<i>dhenum</i>	<i>vadhūm</i> -m
I Ab	<i>jātiyā</i>	<i>nadiyā</i>	<i>dhenuyā</i>	<i>vadhuyā</i> -ya
G	<i>jātiyā</i>	<i>nadiyā</i>	<i>dhenuyā</i>	<i>vadhuyā</i> -yā
L	<i>jātiyam</i>	<i>nadiyam</i>	<i>dhenuyam</i>	<i>vadhuyam</i> -yam
	<i>jātiyā</i>	<i>nadiyā</i>	<i>dhenuyā</i>	<i>vadhuyā</i>

Plural

N V A	<i>jātiyo</i>	<i>nadiyo</i>	<i>dhenuyo</i>	<i>vadhuyo</i>	-yo
I Ab	<i>jātihi</i>	<i>nadihi</i>	<i>dhenūhi</i>	<i>vadhūhi</i>	-hi
G	<i>jātinam</i>	<i>nadinam</i>	<i>dhenūnam</i>	<i>vadhūnam</i>	-nam
L	<i>jātisu</i>	<i>nadisu</i>	<i>dhenūsu</i>	<i>vadhūsu</i>	-su

- a). In the singular the final long vowel of the stem is shortened before the endings *-yā* and *-yam*: *nadiyā*, *nadiyam*.
- b) In poetry instead of *nadiyā* and *nadiyo*, sometimes contracted forms are used: *najjā* and *najjo*. Similarly

<i>jāti</i>	birth	<i>jaccā</i> and <i>jacco</i>
<i>sammuti</i>	consent	<i>sammucca</i>
<i>nikati</i>	deceit	<i>nikatyā</i> and <i>nikaccā</i>
<i>rati</i>	pleasure	<i>ratyā</i>
<i>paṭhavi</i>	earth	<i>paṭhavya</i>
<i>pokkharāṇi</i>	pond	<i>pokkharāṇṇo</i>
<i>bhūmi</i>	earth	<i>bhūmyā</i>

Further, a new nominative plural has been formed from *najjā*, i.e. *najjāyo*.

- c). The ablative singular is sometimes formed with the suffix *-to*: *Bārāṇasito* 'from Benares', *angulito* 'from the finger'.

There is also an ablative in *-so* used adverbially: *yoniso* 'carefully', *dhātuso* 'according to one's nature'.

- d). The stem *bhū* 'earth' has *bhuvī* in the locative singular while *ratti* 'night' has *ratto* in the expression *divā ca ratto ca* 'by day and by night'.

31 Declension of the adjectives: The adjectives are declined in each of the three genders just like a stem of the masculine, of the neuter and of the feminine gender: *dīgho*, *dīgham*, *dīghā* 'long', *pañcamo*, *pañcamam*, *pañcamī* 'fifth'

Singular

N	<i>dīgho</i>	<i>dīgham</i>	<i>dīghā</i>
V	<i>dīgha</i>	<i>dīgham</i>	<i>dīghe</i>
A	<i>dīgham</i>	<i>dīgham</i>	<i>dīgham</i>
I	<i>dīghena</i>		<i>dīghāya</i>
Ab	<i>dīgha</i>		<i>dīghāya</i>
	<i>dīghasmā</i>		
G	<i>dīghassa</i>		<i>dīghāya</i>

L	dighe	dīghāyam
	dīghasmim	dīghāya
P l u r a l		
NV	dīghā	dīghāni
A	dīghe	dīghāni
I Ab	dīghehi	dīghāhi
G	dīghānam	dīghānam
L	dīghesu	dīghāsu

In the masculine and in the neuter an adjective is declined in the same way with the exception of the nominative, vocative, accusative.

When the adjective ends in -ī, the adjective is declined like *nadī*.

Declension of consonant stems

The stems ending in consonants may be divided into
 root stems
 stems in -s
 stems in -nt (-ant, -vant, -mant)
 stems in -in
 stems in -an
 stems in -ar

32. Root stems: In poetry there are a few remnants of the Sanskrit root stems declensions:

A sg	parisatim	from pariṣad	assembly
I sg	vacā	from vac-	word
	padā	from pad-	foot
Ab sg	diso	from dis-	region
G sg	jagato	from jagat-	world

L sg	pathi	from path-	road
	parisati	from pariṣad-	assembly
	divi	from dyu-	sky
	padi in sapadi	from pad-	foot
N A pl	sarado	from śarad-	autumn
G pl	saritam	from sarit-	river
	padam	from pad- in compounds	
		dvipadam, catuppadam	
	disam	from dis- in the compound	
		disampati Lord of the	
		(four) quarters	

33. Stems in -s: There are a few stems in -s which are neuter in gender and are declined only in the singular. Such stems are: *ayas* 'iron', *uras* 'breast', *cetas* 'mind', *chandas* 'metre', *jaras* 'old age', *tamas* 'darkness', *tapas* 'heat', *tejas* 'splendour', *manas* 'mind', *yasas* 'fame', *vacas* 'word', *vayas* 'age', *siras* 'head', etc.

N V A *mano*

I Ab *manasā*

G *manaso*

L *manasi*

a). These stems are often declined like neuter stems in -a: *Manam*, *manena*, *manasmā*, *manassa*, *manasmim*, *manāni*, *manehi*, *manānam*, *manesu*.

b). The comparative adjective in -yas: *seyyas*, *pāpiyas*, *bhiyyas*, etc. have nominative, vocative and accusative in -o: *seyyo*, *pāpiyo*, *bhiyyo*. In the other cases they are declined like the stems in -a. The adjective *bhiyyo* has an instrumental case *bhuyyena* in the word *yebhuyyena*.

c). There is a masculine stem in -as: *candimas* 'moon' which has *chandimā* in the nominative singular. For the rest it

is declined like *puriso*: *candimam*, *candimena*, *candimassa*, etc.

- d). Two stems in *-vas* appear only in the nominative singular: *vidvā* 'knowing' and *dassivā* 'seeing'.

34. Stems in *-nt*: *silavant* 'virtuous' (masc.)

S i n g u l a r		P l u r a l	
N V	<i>silavā</i>	N V A	<i>silavanto</i>
A	<i>silavantam</i>		
I Ab	<i>silavatā</i>		
G	<i>silavato</i>		<i>silavatam</i>
L	<i>silavati</i>		

Like *silavant* are declined *bhagavant* 'fortunate', *balavant* 'strong', *mahant* 'great' etc. There are no forms for the instrumental, ablative and locative plural, with the exception of *sabbhi* which is the instrumental and ablative plural of *sant* 'good'.

These stems may be fully declined like the stems in *-a*, i.e. like *purisa*:

S i n g u l a r		P l u r a l	
N	<i>silavanto</i>		<i>silavantā</i>
V	<i>silavanta</i>		<i>silavantā</i>
A	<i>silavantam</i>		<i>silavante</i>
I	<i>silavantena</i>		<i>silavantehi</i>
Ab	<i>silavantas mā</i>		<i>silavantehi</i>
G	<i>silavantassa</i>		<i>silavantānam</i>
L	<i>silavantas mīm</i>		<i>silavantesu</i>

- a) Like *silavant* are declined the present participle parassapada: *tūṭthant* 'standing', *vasant* 'dwelling', *carant* 'moving', etc. The only difference is that the present participles do not drop the nasal consonant in the nominative singular;

hence *carant* has *caram* and *caranto*. Further the present participles formed from the present stem in *-e* and *-o* have the nominative singular always in *-nto*: *karanto* 'doing', *cintento* 'thinking', *kathento* 'speaking'.

- b). *Arahant*, though a present participle from the verb *arahati* 'to be worthy', is more often used as a noun. In the nominative singular it has all the three forms *arahā*, *araham*, *arahanto* when used as a noun, but only *araham*, *arahanto* when used as a participle.
- c). *Bhavant*, as the present participle of *bhavati* 'to become' is declined like any other participle: *bhavam* / *bhavanto*, *bhavantam*, *bhavatā* / *bhavantena*, etc.. The feminine is also formed regularly: *bhavanti*.

But as a pronoun, *bhavant* 'you, venerable' is declined slightly differently:

S i n g u l a r		P l u r a l	
N	<i>bhavam</i>		<i>bhavanto</i> , <i>bhonto</i>
V	<i>bhavam</i> , <i>bho</i> , <i>bhante</i>		<i>bhonto</i>
A	<i>bhavantam</i>		<i>bhavanto</i>
I Ab	<i>bhotā</i>		<i>bhavantehi</i>
G	<i>bhoto</i>		<i>bhavatam</i>

Another form used in the vocative singular is *bhadante*, while *bho* is used both in the singular and in the plural, whether alone or followed by a noun.

The feminine of *bhavam* is *bhotī*.

N	<i>bhotī</i>
V	<i>bhotī</i>
A	<i>bhotīm</i>
I Ab	<i>bhotiyā</i>

G bhotiyā

L bhotiyā

35. Stems in -in: *hatthin* 'elephant' (masc.)

S i n g u l a r

P l u r a l

N *hatthi* N V A *hatthino, hatthī*V *hatthi*A *hatthinam*I Ab *hatthinā* *hatthihi*G *hatthino* *hatthīnam*L *hatthini* *hatthisu*

- a). In the singular in the accusative, ablative, genitive, locative these stems are sometimes declined like the stems in -i: *hatthim, hatthismā, hatthissa, hatthismim* like *aggim, aggissa, aggismim*, etc.
- b). In poetry there are a few forms built up like those of the stems in -a: accusative plural *pānine* from *pānin* 'living being', *mānine* from *mānin* 'proud of'; locative plural *verinesu* from *verin* 'hating'.

36. Stems in -an: *rājan* 'king', *attan* 'self' (masc.)N *rājā* *rājāno* *attā* *attāno*V *rāja* " " "A *rājānam* " *attānam* "I Ab *rañña, rājinā* *rājūhi* *attanā*G *rañño, rājino* *raññam, rājūnam* *attano*L *rājini* *rājūsu* *attani*

- a). These stems are often declined like the stems in -a: accusative *rājam, attam*; genitive *rājassa, attassa*; instrumental and ablative plural *rajehi, attehi /attanehi*, etc.

- b). At the end of a *samāsa*, these stems sometimes follow the consonant declension and sometimes follow the declension of the stems in -a: nominative *mahārājā, maccurājā* but *pahitatto*; accusative *pabbatarājam, pahitattam* but *bhāvitattānam*; instrumental *dhammarājena, bhāvitattena* but *mahāraññā*; accusative plural *mahārāje*.

- c). In the declension of *rājan* there are some other stray forms like nominative singular *rañño*, genitive *raññassa*, locative *raññe*, instrumental plural *raññehi*.

- d). Besides *attā* there is also a nominative singular *atumā, atumo, tumo* and *atumāno* with the accusative *atumānam* and the locative *atume*.

- e). Other stems which belong to this declension are *muddhan* 'head', *amhan* 'stone', *brahman* 'Brahma', *addhan* 'road', *san* 'dog', *yuvan* 'young man' *puman* 'man'

and the neuter stems:

kamman 'action', *bhasman* 'ashes', *vesman* 'house'.

Of these stems in -an only few cases are found:

	N	A	I Ab	G	L
<i>addhan</i>	<i>addhā</i>	<i>addhānam</i>	<i>addhunā</i>	<i>addhuno</i>	<i>addhani</i>
<i>amhan</i>			<i>amhanā</i>		
<i>kamman</i>			<i>kammunā</i>	<i>kammuno</i>	<i>kammani</i>
<i>brahman</i>	<i>brahmā</i>	<i>brahmānam</i>	<i>brahmunā</i>	<i>brahmuno</i>	<i>brahmani</i>
	pl. <i>brahmāno brahmāno</i>				
<i>bhasman</i>					<i>bhasmani</i>
<i>puman</i>	<i>pumā</i>	<i>pumanam</i>	<i>pumunā</i>	<i>pumuno</i>	<i>pumani</i>
	pl. <i>pumāno</i>				
<i>muddhan</i>	<i>muddhā</i>		<i>muddhanā</i>		<i>muddhani</i>

yuvan yuva

vesman

vesmani

san sā

From *brahman* there is also a vocative singular *brahme*.

These stems have passed over to the declension of the stem in -a; i.e. *pumo*, *pumam*, *pumena*, etc.

- f). The neuter stem *ahan* is declined like the stems in -a: *aham*, *ahena*, *ahassa*; but in composition it has the form *aṇha*: *pubbaṇha* 'in the morning', *sāyanha* 'in the evening'.

37. Stem in -ar: *satthar* 'teacher' (masc.), *pitar* 'father' (masc.), *mātar* 'mother' (femin.)

Singular

N V	<i>satthā</i>	<i>pitā</i>	<i>mātā</i>
A	<i>satthāram</i>	<i>pitaram</i>	<i>mātaram</i>
I Ab	<i>sattharā</i>	<i>pitārā</i>	<i>mātārā</i>
G	<i>satthu</i>	<i>pitū</i>	<i>mātu</i>
L	<i>satthari</i>	<i>pitari</i>	<i>mātari</i>

Plural

N V A	<i>satthāro</i>	<i>pitāro</i>	<i>mātāro</i>
I Ab	<i>satthūhi</i>	<i>pitūhi</i>	<i>mātūhi</i>
G	<i>satthūnam</i>	<i>pitūnam</i>	<i>mātūnam</i>
L	<i>satthūsu</i>	<i>pitūsu</i>	<i>matūsu</i>

- a). Like *satthar* are declined the agent nouns like *datar* 'giver', *netar* 'leader', *sotar* 'hearer', etc. Like *pitar* is declined *bhātar* 'brother'. Like *mātar* is declined *dhitar* 'daughter'
- b). The main difference between the agent nouns like *satthar* and the nouns of relationship like *pitar*, *mātar*, is in the accusative singular and in the nominative, vocative and accusative plural. The agent nouns have the vowel of the

stem long while the nouns of relationship have it short *satthāram*, *satthāro* / *pitaram*, *pitāro*, *mātaram*, *mātāro*. The word *nattar* 'grandson' follows the agent nouns in its declension: *nattā*, *nattāram*, *nattāro*.

- c). The masculine stems form also the instrumental and the genitive singular on the pattern of the -u stems: *satthunā*, *satthuno* / *satthussa*, *pitunā*, *pituno* / *pitussa*. The feminine stems form not only the instrumental and the genitive, but also the locative singular on the pattern of the feminine stems in -u: *matuyā*, *matuyam*. *Dhitar* is often declined like the stems in -ā: *dhītā*, *dhītam*, *dhītāya*, etc
- d). In the plural there are some forms built on the pattern of the stems in -ā: *satthārehi*, *satthārānam*, *satthāresu*, *pitarehi*, *pitārānam*, *pitaresu*.
- e). In the singular the vowel of the stem is found long even in the instrumental: *satthārā* besides the common form *sattharā*.
- f). In the ablative singular there are also the forms *pitito*, *mātito* from *pitar*, *mātar*.

Feminine Gender

18. In Pali the adjective, when not used in a samāsa, must agree in gender, number and case with the noun it modifies. Hence every adjective can be declined in all the three genders. Further the nouns indicating living beings of the male sex may also be turned into feminine to indicate the corresponding living beings of the female sex

The feminine gender of such nouns and adjectives is formed in various ways:

- a). Noun stems in -a form the feminine gender with the suffix -ī which replaces the suffix -a of the stem: *dāsa* 'servant', *dāsī*; *cora* 'thief', *corī*; *deva* 'god', *devī*; *kumāra* 'prince',

kumārī; *brāhmaṇa* 'brahmin', *brāhmaṇī*; *tāpasa* 'ascetic', *tāpasi*.

- b). Adjective stems in -a form the feminine gender with the suffix -ā: *diḥa* 'long', *diḥā*; *manāpa* 'dear', *manāpā*; *majjhima* 'middle', *majjhimā*; *gacchamāna* 'going', *gacchamānā*; *gata* 'gone', *gatā*; *desetabba* 'should be preached', *desetabbā*.

N.B. Some adjectives have the feminine in -ā when used as adjectives, and in -ī when used as nouns: *dahara* 'young', *daharā*, but *daharī* 'young woman'; *kalyāṇa* 'beautiful', *kalyāṇā*, but *kalyāṇī* 'a beautiful woman'. There are also some adjectives ending in -ī in their feminine gender: *dhammī kathā* 'religious discourse'.

- c). Stems in -aka form the feminine by changing -aka > -ikā: *janaka* 'father', *janikā* 'mother'; *kumāraka* 'boy', *kumārikā* 'girl'; *upāsaka* 'lay disciple', *upāsikā* 'female lay disciple'; *sāvaka* 'disciple', *sāvikā* 'female disciple'; *pāpaka* 'sinful', *pāpikā*; *ekaka* 'alone', *ekikā*.
- d). Stems in -in form the feminine by adding the suffix -ī: *hatthin* 'elephant', *hatthinī*; *sāmin* 'master', *sāminī*; *musāvādin* 'liar', *musāvādinī*; *lābhin* 'receiver', *lābhini*.

Some stems drop the final nasal in the formation of the feminine gender: *porin* 'polite', *porī*; *bhārin* 'wearing', *bhārinī* / *bhārī*; *dukkhin* 'painful', *dukkhī*.

- e). Stems in -u, -ū form the feminine by adding the suffix -nī: *bhikkhu* 'monk', *bhikkhunī*; *abhiḥhālū* 'covetous', *abhiḥhālūnī*.
- f). Stems in -ant, if they are adjectives, form the feminine by adding the suffix -ī to the stem without the nasal consonant (that is: to the weak form of the stem); if they are present participles they add the suffix -ī to the stem (that is, to the strong form of the stem):

adjectives: *silavant* 'virtuous', *silavati*; *gunavant* 'virtuous', *gunavati*; *mahant* 'great', *mahati*.

participles: *gacchant* 'going', *gacchantī*; *vasant* 'dwelling', *vasantī*; *carant* 'moving', *caranti*.

The present participles of the stems in -e / -o have also the feminine in -ī: *dentō* 'giving', *dentī*; *cintento* 'thinking', *cintenti*; *karonto* 'doing', *karonti*.

The feminine of *bhavant* is *bhavanti* when it is used as participle of *bhavati* 'to be', but it is *bhotī* when it is used as pronoun.

- g). The ordinal numerals form the feminine with the suffix -ā in the first three numbers, and with the suffix -ī in all the other numbers: *pathamā*, *duṭṭiyā*, *tatiyā* but *catutthī*, *pañcamī*, etc.

- h). Some nouns form the feminine in different ways:

<i>nara</i>	man	<i>nārī</i>
<i>raja</i>	king	<i>rājīnī</i>
<i>matula</i>	uncle	<i>mātulānī</i>
<i>yakkha</i>	demon	<i>yakkhī</i> / <i>yakkhinī</i>
<i>sakiya</i>	sakya	<i>sākiyānī</i>
<i>gahapati</i>	householder	<i>gahapatānī</i>
<i>assa</i>	horse	<i>vaḥavā</i>
<i>netar</i>	leader	<i>netti</i>
<i>go</i>	ox	<i>gavī</i> / <i>gāvī</i>
<i>puṇettar</i>	parent	<i>janetti</i>

The feminine *vessī* / *vessikā* are used to indicate a woman of the Vaisya caste, while *vesī* / *vesiyā* mean 'a harlot'.

- i). When a noun is turned into an adjective at the end of a bahubhihi samāsa, it forms the feminine with the suffix -ā like any other adjective: *evam-nāmā* 'having such a name', *evam-gotta* 'belonging to such a clan', *evam-silā*

'having such a virtue', *pañcavannā* 'of five colours', *mahāsaddā* 'making great noise' etc.

There are, however, some *samāsa* that make the feminine with the suffix *-ī*: *evārūpī kathā* 'such a talk' besides *evārūpā* and *abhirūpā*; *assumukhī* 'with tears on her face', *nandimukhī* 'with joy on her face', *sassamaṇa-brāhmaṇī pajā* 'the people together with their recluses and brahmins', *piḷakā sāsapamattiyo mugamattiyo* 'boils of the size of a mustard seed and of the size of a bean', *anupubbi kathā* 'a gradual talk'.

Comparative and Superlative

39. Formation of the comparative and of the superlative.

- a). The comparative and the superlative of the adjectives are formed by adding to the stem the suffixes *-tara* and *-tama* respectively:

<i>suci</i>	pure	<i>sucitara</i>	<i>sucitama</i>
<i>piya</i>	dear	<i>piyatara</i>	<i>piyatama</i>
<i>thera</i>	elder	<i>theratara</i>	<i>theratama</i>
<i>paṇḍita</i>	wise	<i>paṇḍitara</i>	<i>paṇḍitama</i>
<i>bahu</i>	much	<i>bahutara</i>	<i>bahutama</i>
<i>vuḍḍha</i>	old	<i>vuḍḍhatara</i>	<i>vuḍḍhatama</i>

- b). The stems in *-ant* form the comparative from their alternative stem in *-anta*:

<i>sīlavant</i>	virtuous	<i>sīlavantatara</i>
<i>mahant</i>	great	<i>mahantatara</i>
<i>vannavant</i>	beautiful	<i>vannavantatara</i>

From the stem *balavant* 'strong' there is both *balavantatara* and *balavatara*.

- c). In a few cases the comparative and the superlative are formed with the older suffixes *-iya* and *-ittha* respectively:

<i>pāpa</i>	sinful	<i>pāpiya</i>	<i>pāpittha</i>
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- d). Some superlative are formed with the suffix *-ma* before which the vowel of the stem is sometimes changed to *-i*:

<i>majjha</i>	middle	<i>majjhima</i>	
<i>bāhira</i>	outside	<i>bāhurima</i>	
<i>abbhantara</i>	internal	<i>abbhantarima</i>	
<i>anta</i>	end	<i>antima</i>	last

- e). Some adjectives have more than one form:

<i>pāpa</i>	sinful	<i>pāpiya</i> / <i>pāpatara</i> , <i>pāpittha</i> / <i>pāpatama</i>
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- f). There are some comparative and superlative formations which are connected only in meaning with adjectives in the positive degree:

<i>sant</i>	good	<i>seyya</i>	<i>seṭṭha</i>
<i>yuva</i>	young	<i>kaniya</i>	<i>kanittha</i>
<i>vuḍḍha</i>	old	<i>jeyya</i>	<i>jettha</i>
<i>bahu</i>	much	<i>bhiyyo</i> and also <i>bhuyya</i> in <i>yebhuyyena</i>	

- g). Some comparatives and superlatives seem to have lost their special meaning and thus a new comparative has been formed from them:

<i>seyya</i>	better	<i>seyyatara</i>
<i>seṭṭha</i>	best	<i>seṭṭhatara</i>
<i>pāpittha</i>	most sinful	<i>pāpitthatara</i>
<i>purima</i>	former	<i>purimatara</i>

- h). Some past participles, both alone and at the end of a samasa, are used in the comparative:

<i>sankiluttha</i>	defiled	<i>sankilitthatara</i>
<i>pañita</i>	excellent	<i>pañitatarā</i>
<i>vyatta</i>	learned	<i>vyattatarā</i>
<i>sampanna</i>	endowed	<i>silasampannatara</i>
<i>saṅkhata</i>	reckoned	<i>pañitasāṅkhatatara</i>
<i>abhikkanta</i>	surpassing	<i>abhikkantatarā</i>

In the samāsa the comparative idea usually refers to the first member of the compound:

<i>silasampannatara</i>	endowed with greater virtue
<i>pañitasāṅkhatatara</i>	reckoned as more excellent

- i). Bahubbihi samāsa are sometimes used in the comparative:

<i>dīghāyuka</i>	having a long life	<i>dīghāyukatara</i>
<i>mahāsāvajja</i>	greatly blameworthy	<i>mahāsāvajjatara</i>

Similarly *mahasakkhatara* 'having greater power', *mahaddhanatara* 'having greater wealth', *mahābhogatara* 'having greater riches', *mahābalatara* 'having greater strength', etc.

- j). There are even some nouns and noun samāsa that take the comparative suffix:

<i>mala</i>	<i>malatara</i>	having a greater stain
<i>vana</i>	<i>vanatara</i>	thicker jungle
<i>sappurisa</i>	<i>sappurisatara</i>	a better man

- k). The comparative and superlative endings are also added to some pronominal stems:

<i>l</i>	<i>itara</i>		other
<i>ka</i>	<i>katara</i>	<i>katama</i>	which
<i>añña-</i>	<i>aññatara</i>	<i>aññatama</i>	another

- l). The comparative and the superlative suffixes are also added to some prepositions and adverbs to form adjectives having a comparative or a superlative meaning.

<i>adha</i>	<i>adhara</i>	lower	<i>adhama</i>	lowest
<i>ud</i>	<i>uttara</i>	higher	<i>uttama</i>	highest
<i>upari</i>			<i>uparima</i>	uppermost
<i>ava</i>	<i>ora</i>	lower	<i>orima</i>	lowest
<i>cira</i>	<i>ciratarā</i>			longer time
<i>pacchā</i>			<i>pacchima</i>	last
<i>para</i>			<i>parama / parima</i>	highest
<i>pura</i>			<i>purima, purimatara</i>	former
<i>purattha</i>			<i>puratthima</i>	eastern
<i>pure</i>	<i>puretara</i>			before
<i>hetthā</i>			<i>hetthima</i>	lowest

CHAPTER IV

PRONOUNS

The pronouns may be divided into:

personal pronouns
demonstrative pronouns
relative pronouns
interrogative pronouns
indefinite pronouns
possessive pronouns
reflexive pronouns

Like the pronouns are inflected some pronominal adjectives.

40. Personal pronouns

first person : *aham* 'I', *mayam* 'we'
second person : *tvam* 'thou', *tumhe* 'you'
third person : *so*, *sā*, *tam* 'he, she, it'
te, *tā*, *tāni* 'they'

S i n g u l a r

N	<i>aham</i>	<i>tvam</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>tam</i>	<i>sā</i>
A	<i>mam</i>	<i>tam</i>	<i>tam</i>	<i>tam</i>	<i>tam</i>

I	<i>mayā</i>	<i>tayā</i>	<i>tena</i>	<i>tāya</i>
Ab	<i>mayā</i>	<i>tayā</i>	<i>tasmā</i>	<i>tāya</i>
G	<i>mama</i>	<i>tava</i>	<i>tassa</i>	<i>tāya</i>
	<i>mayham</i>	<i>tuyham</i>		
L	<i>mayi</i>	<i>tayi</i>	<i>tasmim</i>	<i>tāyam</i>

P l u r a l

N	<i>mayam</i>	<i>tumhe</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>tāni</i>	<i>tā</i>
	<i>amhe</i>				<i>tāyo</i>
A	<i>amhe</i>	<i>tumhe</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>tāni</i>	<i>tā</i> , <i>tāyo</i>
I Ab	<i>amhehi</i>	<i>tumhehi</i>	<i>tehi</i>		<i>tāhi</i>
G	<i>amhākam</i>	<i>tumhākam</i>	<i>tesam</i>		<i>tāsam</i>
L	<i>amhesu</i>	<i>tumhesu</i>	<i>tesu</i>		<i>tāsu</i>

a). Alternative forms:

aham: sg. A *mamam*, G *mamam*, *amham*, I G me pl. N *asme*,
A *asme*, *asmākam*, *amhākam*, G *amham*, A I G no

tvam: sg. N *tuvam*, A *tvam*, *tuvam*, I *tvayā*, G, *tavam* I G
te pl. A *tumhākam*, D G *tumham*, A I G vo

so: sg. N *sa*

sā: sg. G *tassā*, *tissā*, *tissāya*, L *tassam*, *tissam*.

b). In the declension of the pronoun *so*, the consonant *n-* is often found instead of the initial *t-*: *nam* besides *tam*, *ne* and *nesam* besides *te* and *tesam*.

41. Demonstrative pronouns

masc.	<i>ayam</i>	nt.	<i>idam</i>	fem.	<i>ayam</i>	'this'
	<i>asu</i>		<i>adam</i>		<i>asu</i>	'that'
	<i>so</i>		<i>tam</i>		<i>sa</i>	'that'
	<i>eso</i>		<i>etam</i>		<i>esā</i>	'this'

Singular

N	ayaṃ	idaṃ, imaṃ	ayaṃ
A	imaṃ	idaṃ, imaṃ	imaṃ
I	iminā, anena		imāya
Ab	imasmā, asmā		imāya
G	imassa, assa		imāya
L	imasmim, asmim		imāyaṃ

Plural

N A	ime	imāni	imā, imāyo
I Ab	imehi, ehi		imāhi
G	imesaṃ, esaṃ		imāsaṃ
L	imesu, esu		imāsu

In some cases there are alternative forms:

ayaṃ (masc.) : Pl. G imesānaṃ, esānaṃ

ayaṃ (fem.) : Sg. G imissā, imissāya, assā, assāya
L imissam, assaṃ

Pl. G imāsānaṃ

Singular

N	asu, amu	aduṃ	asu
A	amuṃ	aduṃ	amuṃ
I	amunā		amuyā
Ab	amusmā		amuyā
G	amussa		amuyā
L	amusmim		amuyam

Plural

N A	amū	amūni	amū, amūyo
I Ab	amūhi		amūhi

G	amūsaṃ	amūsaṃ
L	amūsu	amūsu

Alternative forms:

asu (masc.) : Pl. G amūsānaṃ

asu (fem.) : Pl. G amūsānaṃ

a). The pronouns *so* and *eso* are declined like *so* (40).

b). Instead of the neuter form *taṃ*, there is sometimes *tad* when followed by a vowel or in composition: *tad evaṃ* 'that indeed', *etad avoca* 'said such a thing', *takkara* from *tad-kara* 'doing it'.

d). Again, instead of the neuter form *taṃ* there is the Magadhi form *se* when followed by *yathā*: *seyyathā* for *taṃ yathā* 'just as', and *seyyathidaṃ* for *taṃ yathā idaṃ* 'namely'.

42. Relative pronouns: masc. *yo* 'who', nt. *yam*
'which' fem. *yā* 'who'

Singular

Plural

N	yo	yam	yā	ye	yāni	yā, yāyo
A	yam	yam	yam	ye	yāni	yā, yāyo
I	yasa	yāya	jehi			yāhi
Ab	yasmā	yāya	yehi			yāhi
G	yassa	yāya	yesaṃ			yāsaṃ
L	yasmim	yāyaṃ	yesu			yāsu

Alternative forms:

yo : Sg. N *ye* (Magadhi), Ab *yamhā*, L *yamhi* Pl. G *yesānaṃ*
yā : Sg. G *yassā*, L *yassaṃ*

Pl. G *yāsānaṃ*

yam : Sg. N *ye* (Magadhi) found alone and in compounds:
yebhuyya 'most', *yebhuyyena* 'mostly', *yebhuyyasikā*
'according to the majority', *yevāpanaka* 'whatever else'.

Further, instead of *yam*, there is *yad* sometimes when followed by a vowel. *yad evam*.

43. Interrogative pronouns: masc. *ko* 'who', nt. *kim* 'what' fem. *kā* 'who'

	S i n g u l a r				P l u r a l	
N	<i>ko</i>	<i>kim</i>	<i>kā</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>kāni</i>	<i>kā, kayo</i>
A	<i>kam</i>	<i>kim</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>kāni</i>	<i>kā, kāyo</i>
I	<i>kena</i>	<i>kāya</i>		<i>kehi</i>	<i>kāhi</i>	
Ab	<i>kasmā</i>	<i>kāya</i>		<i>kehi</i>	<i>kāhi</i>	
G	<i>kassa</i>	<i>kāya</i>		<i>kesam</i>	<i>kāsam</i>	
L	<i>kasmim</i>	<i>kāyam</i>		<i>kesu</i>	<i>kāsu</i>	

Alternative forms:

ko : Sg. N *ke* (Magadhi), Ab *kasmā*, L *kamhi*
Pl. G *kesānam*

kim : Sg. G *kissa*, Ab *kismā*, L *kimhi*

kā : Sg. G *kassā*, *kissā*, L *kassam*, *kissam*
Pl. G *kāsānam*

The interrogative pronoun is sometimes strengthened with the particle *-su* / *-ssu*: *kam-su*, *kena-ssu*.

From the stem *ka-* are derived the pronominal adjectives *katara*, *katama* 'who', *kati* 'how many', *kittaka* 'how much'. *Kittaka* is declined in the three genders like any other adjective; *katara* and *katama* are declined in the three genders like the pronouns *yo*, *ko*; *kati* has one form only for all the three genders and is declined only in the plural: N A *kati*, I Ab *katīhi*, G *katīnam*, L *katīsu*.

44. Indefinite pronouns: Indefinite pronouns are obtained

- a). by adding the particle *-ci* to the relative pronoun: *koci*, *kāci*, *kiñci* 'someone, something';

- b). by repeating twice the demonstrative or the relative pronoun: *so so* 'anyone', *yo yo* 'anyone';
c). by joining together a relative or interrogative pronoun with a demonstrative pronoun: *yo so* 'whoever';
d). by joining together a relative with an indefinite pronoun: *yam kiñci* 'whatever'

Further two pronominal adjectives are used in the plural: *katicī* and *katīpaya* 'some'.

45. Possessive pronouns: The pronominal adjectives *sa*, *saka*, *māmaka* are used to express possessive meaning. Of these *saka* and *māmaka* are declined like ordinary adjectives while the stem *sa* has: Sg. A *saṃ*, I *senā*, Ab *saṃhā*, L *saṃhi*; Pl. A neuter *sāni*, I Ab *sehi*.

Further in possessive meaning are used

- a). the pronoun *attanō* for all the three genders and both in the singular and in the plural,
b). the genitive of the personal pronouns for each person respectively: *mayham*, *tuyham*, *tassa*, *tāya*, *amhākam*, *tumhākam*, *tesam*, *tāsam*.

46. Reflexive pronouns: The oblique cases of *attan* are used as reflexive pronoun: v.g.; *attanā* 'by oneself'.

47. Pronominal adjectives: Some adjectives either derived from, or connected in meaning with the pronouns, follow the pronominal declension. Such adjectives are *añña*, *aññatara*, *aññatama* 'another'; *amuka*, *asuka* 'such and such a one'; *itara* 'other'; *katara*, *katama* 'which one'; *para* 'other', *pubba* 'former'; *sabba* 'all'. Since they follow the pronominal declension, these adjectives take the case terminations which are proper to the pronouns as distinguished from the nouns:

N	Pl masc.	<i>katame</i> , <i>sabbe</i> , <i>itare</i> , <i>pubbe</i>
G	Pl masc.	<i>aññesam</i> , <i>katamesānam</i>

<i>G</i>	<i>Sg. fem.</i>	<i>aññissā, katarissā</i>
<i>L</i>	<i>Sg. fem.</i>	<i>annissam, katamassam</i>
<i>G</i>	<i>Pl. fem.</i>	<i>sabbāsam, itarāsam</i>
<i>L</i>	<i>Sg. masc.</i>	<i>sabbasmim, katarasmim</i>

Pubba has *pabbe* in the locative singular and *uttara* has *uttarāya / uttarasam* in the locative singular feminine.

Ekacco has *ekacce* in the nominative plural masculine but has *ekaccānam* in the genitive plural

CHAPTER V

NUMERALS

The numerals may be divided into:

cardinal numerals	fractional numerals
ordinal numerals	multiplicative numerals
distributive numerals	substantive numerals

48. **Cardinal numerals:** The cardinal numerals are those which indicate a numerical quantity without any reference to any other number: one, five, twelve, twenty-five ...

1	<i>eka</i>
2	<i>dvi</i>
3	<i>ti</i>
4	<i>catu</i>
5	<i>pañca</i>
6	<i>cha</i>

- 7 satta
 8 attha
 9 nava
 10 dasa
 11 ekādasa, ekārāsa
 12 dvādasa, bārāsa
 13 terasa, teḷasa
 14 catuddasa, cuddasa
 15 pañcadasa, paṇṇarasa, pannarasa
 16 soḷasa, sorasa
 17 sattadasa, sattarasa
 18 aṭṭhadasa, aṭṭharasa
 19 ekūnavīsati, ekūnavisa
 20 vīsati, visa, visam, vīsā
 21 ekavīsati
 22 dvāvīsati, dvāvīsa, bāvīsa
 23 tevīsati, tevīsa
 24 catuvīsati, catuvisa, catubbisa
 25 pañcavīsati, pañcavisa, paṇṇavīsati
 26 chabbīsati
 27 sattavīsati
 28 atthavīsati, atthavisam
 29 ekūnatimsati
 30 timsati, timsa, timsam, timsā, tīdasa
 31 ekatimsati
 32 dvattimsati dvattimsa

- 33 tettiṃsati, tettiṃsa
 34 catuttiṃsati
 36 chattimsati, chattimsa
 37 sattatimsati, sattatimsa
 40 cattālisati, cattālisa, cattālisam, cattālīsā, cattārīsā
 42 dvicattālisati, dvācattālisa
 43 tecattālisa
 50 paññāsa, paññāsā, paññāsa
 52 dvepaññāsa, dvāpaññāsa
 56 chapaññāsa
 60 saṭṭhi
 70 sattati
 72 dvāsattati
 80 asīti
 82 dve asīti
 84 caturāsīti, cullāsīti, cūlāsīti
 90 navuti
 92 dvānavuti, dvenavuti
 96 chaṇṇavuti
 99 ekūnasatam, ekūnakam satam
 100 satam
 101 ekādhikam satam, satam eko ca
 102 diyadhika satam
 103 tiyadhika satam
 108 aṭṭhadhika satam, atthuttarasatam
 118 aṭṭhārasādhikam satam

126	<i>chabbīsa satam</i>
128	<i>aṭṭhaviṣa satam</i>
150	<i>diyaḍḍha satam</i>
160	<i>satthīsatam</i>
200	<i>dviṣatam, dve satāni</i>
216	<i>dviṣatam soḷasa</i>
250	<i>tiyaḍḍha satam, aḍḍhateyya satam</i>
300	<i>tisatam, tiri satāni</i>
350	<i>aḍḍhacattuttha satam, aḍḍhuddha satam</i>
400	<i>cattussatam</i>
500	<i>pañcasatam, dasaḍḍham satam</i>
550	<i>aḍḍhacattuttha satam</i>
650	<i>aḍḍhasattamasatam</i>
1000	<i>sahasam</i>
1001	<i>ekādhika sahasam</i>
1008	<i>aṭṭhādhika sahasam, aṭṭhuttara sahasam</i>
1250	<i>aḍḍhateḷasa satam</i>
1500	<i>pañcasatādhika sahasam, diyaḍḍha sahasam</i>
1850	<i>aḍḍha ekūnaviṣa satam</i>
3300	<i>tisasaahasam ca tisatam</i>
5000	<i>pañcasahasāni, pañca sahasam, dasaḍḍham sahasam</i>
5250	<i>aḍḍha tīpaññāsa satam, aḍḍha tīpaññāsāni satāni</i>
100 000	<i>satasahasam, lakham</i>
280 000	<i>dve sattasahasāni asīti ca sahasāni</i>
460 000	<i>cattāri sattasahasāni satṭhi ca sahasāni</i>
1000 000	<i>dasalakham</i>

10 000 000 *sata lakham, koṭi*

49. Formation of cardinal numerals:

- Numerals like 11, 12, 13, 21, 22, 24, etc. are dvanda samāsa made up of two words: the word expressing the numbers from one to eight and the word expressing the decade; hence 11 is one and ten, *ekadasa*; 12 is two and ten, *dvādasā*; 84 is four and eighty, *caturāsīti*.
- In the formation of the numbers like 22, 32, 42, etc. the number appears more often as *dvā* than as *dve*: *dvādasā*, *dvāvīsati*, *dvāsatṭhi*, *dvāsattati*, *dvattimsati* (with the vowel shortened before two consonants), *dvāpaññāsa* / *dvepaññāsa*, *dve asīti*, *dvānavuti* / *dvenavuti*.
- The numeral 19, 29, 39 etc. are expressed by the numeral *eka* followed by the adjective *ūna* 'less' and then by the next higher cardinal number: *eka ūna viṣati* > *ekūnavīsati* 'twenty less one, i.e. 19'; similarly *ekūnatimsati* 29, *ekūnasatam* 99, *ekūna aṭṭhasatam* 799. Sometimes *eka* is in the instrumental case: *ekena ūna pañcasatāni* 499.
- The numerals above 100 and 1000 are formed with *adhika* or *uttara*: *diyaḍḍhikasatam* 102, *aṭṭhādhika satam* / *aṭṭhuttara satam* 108. The higher numbers are usually expressed as dvanda samāsa: *aṭṭhaviṣa satam* 28 and 100 i.e. 128, or by placing the higher number first and then the smaller number with or without the particle *ca*: *satam eko ca* 101, *dviṣatam soḷasa* 216.
- The numerals that end in 50 or 500 like 150, 250, 500, 1250, 1500, etc. are expressed with the word *aḍḍha* and the numeral indicating the 100 or 1000 next higher than the one expressed by the number. Thus 250 is expressed as 'half of the third hundred' *aḍḍhateyyasatam*; 350 as 'half of the fourth hundred' *aḍḍhacattuttha satam* / *aḍḍhuddha satam*; 1250 as 'half of the thirteenth hundred' *aḍḍhateḷasāni satāni*; 5500 as 'half of the sixth thousand' *aḍḍha chattha*

sahassam. But 150 and 1500 are expressed as *diyaḍḍhasatam*, *diyaḍḍhasahassam*.

50 Declension of numerals: The numerals from 1 to 18 are adjectives, from 20 onwards are nouns.

- a). Eka 'one' is declined in the singular masculine, feminine and neuter gender *eko*, *ekā*, *ekam* just like the pronoun *so*, *sā*, *tam*.

Eka can also be declined in the plural in the sense of 'some'. Here also it follows the pronominal declension. In this meaning, however, the word *ekacce* is more common. *Ekacce* has the pronominal ending in the nominative plural, but in the rest of the cases it is declined like the *a*-stems, hence the genitive plural is *ekaccānam*.

- b). Dvi: 'two' is declined only in the plural and has no distinction of gender:

N A *dve*, *duve*

I Ab *dvīhi*

G *dvinnam*

L *dvīsu*

In composition *dvi* assumes different forms:

du: *dujihva* 'snake', *dvaṅgula* 'two fingers-breadth'

duv: *duvaṅgika* 'twofold'

dvi: *dviḥa* 'bird'

duvi: *duvidha* 'in two ways'

di: *diguṇa* 'double', *diyaḍḍha* 'one and a half'

dvā: *dvādasa* 'twelve', *dvattimsati* 'thirty-two'

dvemāsika 'two months old'

With *dvi* we may classify the numeral adjective *ubho* 'both' which is declined only in the plural:

N A *ubho*

I Ab *ubhohi*

G *ubhinnam*

L *ubhosu*

- c). *tī* 'three' and *catu* 'four' are declined like adjectives in all the three genders:

N A *tayo* *tīni* *tisso* *cattāro* *cattāri* *catasso*

I Ab *tīhi* *tīhi* *catūhi* *catūhi*

G *tinnam* *tissannam* *catunnam* *catussannam*

L *tīsu* *tīsu* *catūsu* *catūsu*

In the genitive plural, besides *tinnam* there is also *tinnannam*

- d). *Pañca* 'five' is declined in the plural without any distinction of gender:

N A *pañca*

I Ab *pañcahi*

G *pañcannam*

L *pañcasu*

Like *pañca* are declined the other numerals up to 18; i.e. *cha*, *chahi*, *channam*, *chasu*; *dasa*, *dasahi*, *dasannam*, *dasasu*.

- e). Numerals ending in *-ti* like *vīsati*, *timsati* are declined in the singular like the feminine stems in *-i*, i.e. like *jāti*: *vīsati*, *vīsatiṃ*, *vīsatiyā*, *visatiyam*.

- f). Numerals ending in *-ā* are declined in the singular like the feminine stems in *-ā*, i.e. like *vanitā*: *vīsā*, *vīsāṃ*, *vīsāya*, *vīsāyam*.

- g). Numerals ending in *-am* are declined in the singular and in the plural like the neuter stems in *-am*: *satam*, *satena*, *satassa*, *satasmā*, *satasmim*; *satāni*, *satehi*, *satānam*, *satesu*; *sahassam*, *sahassena*, etc.

h). Numerals ending in *-a* are usually uninflected: *visa*, *tiṃsa*, etc

51. Ordinal numerals: The ordinal numerals are those which indicate the progressive order of a series, i.e. first, second, third, etc

first	<i>pathama</i>
second	<i>dutiya</i>
third	<i>tatiya</i>
fourth	<i>catuttha</i>
fifth	<i>pañcama</i>
sixth	<i>chaṭṭha</i>
seventh	<i>sattama</i>
eighth	<i>aṭṭhama</i>
ninth	<i>navama</i>
tenth	<i>dasama</i>
eleventh	<i>ekādasā, ekādasama</i>
twelfth	<i>dvādasā, dvādasama</i>
twentieth	<i>visatima, visa</i>
thirtieth	<i>tiṃsatima, tiṃsa</i>
fortieth	<i>cattālīsatiṃsa, cattālisa</i>
fiftieth	<i>paññāsatiṃsa, paññāsa</i>
sixtieth	<i>saṭṭhutama</i>
seventieth	<i>sattatima</i>
eightieth	<i>asītītama</i>
ninetieth	<i>navutima</i>
ninety first	<i>ekānavuta</i>
hundredth	<i>satatama, satima</i>

thousandth *sahassatama, sahassima*

- The first ordinal number is not formed from *eka* but from the prefix *pa-* (*Sakt. pra-*) 'in front' with the addition of *thama: pathama*.
- The ordinals for the numbers 2 and 3 are formed with the suffix *-tiya: dutiya, tatiya*.
- The ordinals for 4 and 6 are formed with the suffix *-tha: catur-tha > catuttha, cha-tha > chaṭṭha*.
- The ordinals of 5, 7, 8, 9, 10 are formed from the stem of the cardinal numerals by adding the suffix *-ama: pañc-ama > pañcama, satt-ama > sattama, aṭṭh-ama > aṭṭhama, nav-ama > navama, das-ama > dasama*.
- The ordinals of the numbers from 11 to 18 may be formed with the suffix *-ama* or merely with the suffix *-a* added to the stem of the cardinal numerals: *ekādas-ama > ekādasama* or *ekādas-a > ekādasā, teras-ama > terasama* or *teras-a > terasā, soḷas-ama > soḷasama* or *soḷas-a > soḷasā*.
- The ordinals of the decades are formed as follows:
 - The cardinal numerals ending in *-a* may be used as adjectival ordinal numbers: *visa, tiṃsa, cattālisa, paññāsa*.
 - The cardinal numerals ending in *-ti* form the ordinals with the suffix *-ma: visatima, tiṃsatima, cattālīsatiṃsa, sattatima, navutima*. Even *paññāsa* has an ordinal *paññāsatiṃsa* by adding both *-ti* and *-ma*.
 - The cardinal numerals 60 and 80 form their ordinals with the suffix *-tama: saṭṭhitama, asītītama*. The numerals 100 and 1000 form their ordinals in the same way: *satatama, sahassatama*.
 - for ninetieth there is the form *navuta* as in *ekānavuta*, and for 100 and 1000 there are the forms *satima* and *sahassima*.
- The ordinal numerals are adjectives and are declined in all the three genders. The feminine of the first three numbers ends in *-ā: paṭhamā, dūtīyā, tatitīyā*. The feminine of all

the other numeral ordinals ends in *-ī*: *catutthī*, *pañcamī*, *ekādasamī* / *ekādasī*, *tiṃsatimī* / *timī*, etc.

52. **Distributive numerals.** The distributive numerals are expressed by repeating the cardinal or the ordinal numerals twice, v.g. *aṭṭha aṭṭha there amacce ca pesayi* 'to each he sent eight elders and eight court officials'

The same idea may be expressed by means of numeral adverbs formed with the suffix *-so* added to the cardinal numerals: *ekekasō* 'one by one', *pañcasō* 'in five ways'.

53. **Fractional numerals.** A fraction is usually expressed with an ordinal numeral and a word expressing fraction, part, portion, like *bhāga*, *kalā*, *amsa*, *koṭṭhāsa*; v.g. *soḷasi kalā* 'one sixteenth part'.

The fraction 'one half' is expressed with *aḍḍha* / *upaḍḍha*, while 'one fourth' is expressed with *pāda*.

The fractions 1 1/2, 2 1/2, 3 1/2 are expressed respectively as *diyaddha*, *aḍḍhatiya* / *aḍḍhateyya*, *aḍḍhuddha*.

54. **Multiplicative numerals.** Multiplicative numerals expressing 'how many times' are obtained:

- a). by using the accusative neuter of the ordinal numerals: *paṭhamam* 'for the first time', *duṭṭiyam* 'for the second time'.
- b). by adding *-khattum* to the stems of the cardinal numerals: *tiṃkkhattum* 'three times', *dasakkhattum* 'ten times'.
- c). by using the word *vāra* either with a cardinal or with an ordinal numeral: *cattāro vārā* 'four times' while *catutthā vare* 'on the fourth time'.
- d). by adding the suffix *-dhā* to the cardinal numerals: *sattadhā* 'in seven ways', *sahassadhā* 'in a thousand ways'. 'Once' can be expressed with *ekadhā* and also with *sakim* and, in composition, with *sakid* / *sakad* when followed by a vowel: *sakad-āgāmi*.

- e). by adding *vidha* / *guṇa* to the cardinal numerals *pañcaviḍha* 'in five ways', *diguṇa* 'twofold'.

55. **Numeral substantives.** Aggregates of beings or things are expressed by numeral substantives formed with the suffix *-ka ya*: *duka* / *dvaya* 'an aggregate of two', *tika* / *taya* 'an aggregate of three'; similarly *catukka*, *pañcaka*, *chakka*, *sattaka*, *aṭṭhaka*, *navaka*, *dasaka*, *sataka*, etc.

CHAPTER VI

THE VERB

In a verbal form we may distinguish the root, the stem, the personal endings, the voice, the augment, the reduplication, the length of the vowel of the root.

56. **Root and stem.** The root is the ultimate element of a verb: *i-* 'to go', *kr-* 'to do', *ji-* 'to win'. The roots will be given in their Sanskrit form since it is only when we take into consideration the original roots as they are in Sanskrit that we can explain some of the phonological changes they undergo. The root *śru-* 'to hear' becomes in Pali *ssu-*; the double consonant is reduced to one at the beginning of a word, but it is retained when it becomes intervocalic, hence *suṇātu*, *suta* but *assosi*. Similarly *jñā-* 'to know' becomes *ñā-*: *ñāta* but *aññāsi*.

The stem is the verbal root modified by one or more of the following elements: prefix, suffix, infix, reduplication, lengthening of the vowel of the root. The present stem of *i-* is *e-* in which the vowel has been lengthened; the present stem of *kr-* is *karo-*

in which the vowel *r* has been lengthened to *ar-* and the suffix *o* has been added. The stem of the future of *śru-* is *soṣsa-* in which the vowel *u* has been lengthened to *o* and the suffix *ssa-* has been added. The stem of the aorist of *gam-* 'to go' is *agamis-* in which the augment has been prefixed and the suffix *is-* has been added. The stem of the present of *chid-* 'to cut' is *chinda-* in which the consonant *n* has been infixed and the suffix *a* has been added.

57. **Voice and personal endings.** The Pali verb has two voices, the active or parassapada and the middle or attanopada. The voice of the verb is distinguished by the personal endings which are either parassapada or attanopada. Further the personal endings of the verb may be either primary or secondary. Both primary and secondary endings may be active and middle.

Active		Middle	
Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary
<i>mi</i>	<i>aṃ</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>m, am</i>
<i>si</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>tho</i>
<i>ti</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>tha</i>
<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>mhe</i>	<i>mhase</i>
<i>tha</i>	<i>tha</i>	<i>vhe</i>	<i>vho</i>
<i>nti</i>	<i>u, uṃ</i>	<i>nre, re</i>	<i>re, ram</i>

The present indicative and the future take the primary personal endings.

The aorist and the conditional take the secondary personal endings.

The optative takes both the primary and the secondary personal endings.

The imperative takes special endings.

58. **Augment.** The conditional and very often the aorist also are formed with an augment. This consists in prefixing the vowel

a- to the verbal forms: *a-dāsim*, *a-kāsim*, *a-bhavissam*. If the verbal stem is preceded by a prefix, the augment is inserted between the prefix and the verb.

<i>bhū</i>	to be	<i>a-bhavi</i>	> <i>abhavi</i>
<i>gam</i>	to go	<i>a-gā</i>	> <i>agā</i>
<i>adhi-bhū</i>	to overcome	<i>adhi-a-bhavi</i>	> <i>ajjhabhavi</i>
<i>anu-gam</i>	to follow	<i>anu-a-gā</i>	> <i>anvagā</i>
<i>abhi-jñā</i>	to know fully	<i>abhi-a-jñāsi</i>	> <i>abbhaññāsi</i>
<i>pātur-bhū</i>	to appear	<i>pātur-a-hosi</i>	> <i>pāturaḥosi</i>

59. Reduplication. Some verbal forms take the reduplication. The most general rules of reduplication are:

- The initial consonant of a root and the vowel that follows it are doubled: *tij-* 'to sharpen': *ti-tikkhati*.
- If the first syllable is a vowel, this is lengthened: *ah-*: *āha*.
- If the first consonant is aspirate, this is reduplicated with its corresponding unaspirate: *bhuj-* 'to eat': *bu-bhukkhati*.
- The guttural consonants *k*, *kh*, *g*, *gh* are reduplicated with *c* and *j* respectively: *khyā-* 'to speak': *ci-kkhati*; *gup-* 'to guard': *ji-gucchati*.

The consonant *h* is also reduplicated with *j*: *hā-* 'to abandon': *ja-hāti*.

- If the verbal root begins with two consonants, only the first is reduplicated: *śru-* 'to hear': *su-ssusati*.

But if the consonants are a sibilant followed by a mute consonant, then only the mute consonant is reduplicated: *sthā-* 'to stand': *ti-tthati*.

- If the root contains a long vowel, this is shortened in the reduplicating syllable: *dā-* 'to give': *da-dāti*; *hā-* 'to abandon': *ja-hāti*.

- Sometimes the reduplication is effected with a vowel different from that of the root as is clear from *titthati*, *cikkhati*, *jigucchati*.

60. Vowel gradation.

- Guna grade:** In the building up of the various verbal forms, the vowel of the root is sometimes lengthened.

<i>i / ī</i>	> <i>e / ay</i>	: <i>lih-</i> 'to lick',	<i>le-hati</i>	> <i>lehati</i>
		<i>nī-</i> 'to lead'	<i>nay-ati</i>	> <i>nayati</i>
<i>u / ū</i>	> <i>o / av</i>	: <i>jut-</i> 'to shine'	<i>jot-ati</i>	> <i>jotati</i>
		<i>bhū-</i> 'to be'	<i>bhav-ati</i>	> <i>bhavati</i>
<i>ṛ</i>	> <i>ar</i>	: <i>kṛ-</i> 'to do'	<i>kar-oti</i>	> <i>karoti</i>

In these cases the vowel of the root is said to be in the guna grade. The vowel *a* does not change since it is already in the guna grade.

- Vṛddhi grade.** Sometimes there is a further lengthening of the vowel:

<i>a</i>	> <i>ā</i>	: <i>pat-</i> 'to fall'	<i>pāt-eti</i>	> <i>pātetī</i>
<i>i / ī</i>	> <i>e / āy</i>	: <i>bhī-</i> 'to fear'	<i>bhāy-ati</i>	> <i>bhāyati</i>
<i>u / ū</i>	> <i>o / āv</i>	: <i>lū-</i> 'to cut'	<i>lāv-eti</i>	> <i>lāvetī</i>
<i>ṛ</i>	> <i>ār</i>	: <i>kṛ-</i> 'to do'	<i>kār-eti</i>	> <i>kāretī</i>

- Zero grade or weak grade.** When the vowels *i*, *u*, *ṛ* are not changed and when the vowel *a* is dropped, the root is said to be in its zero or weak grade; v.g. *jī-* 'to conquer' *jī-ta*, *śru-* 'to hear' *su-ta*. The weak grade of *vac-* 'to speak' is obtained by dropping the vowel *a*: *vac-* become *vc-* and then the semivowel *v*, followed by a consonant, becomes vowel, hence *uc-*. From *uc-* is formed the past participle *uc-ta* > *utta*. But in Pali sometimes a word beginning with *u / i* takes an initial *v / y*; hence *vutta*

Thus a root like *śru-* may appear in its zero grade as in *su-ta*, *su-tvā*, *su-nomi*; or in its guṇa grade as in *so-tum*, *so-tabba*, *sav-anīya*, and also in its vṛddhi grade as in *sāv-eti*, *sāv-aka*.

In a root only a final vowel, whether long or short, and a medial short vowel followed by one consonant, are liable to be lengthened to their guṇa or vṛddhi grades. *Bhū-* becomes *bhav-ati*, *bhāv-eti*, *jut-* becomes *jot-ati*, *lih-* becomes *leh-ati*, but *jīv-* and *nind-* remain unchanged as *jiv-ati*, *nind-ati* since in *jīv-* the medial vowel is long by nature and in *nind-* the medial vowel is long by position.

61. Tenses and moods. The various verbal forms built up from the root are divided into finite and indefinite verbal forms.

The finite verbal forms are those that have personal endings: *gacchāmi*, *gamiṣāmi*, *agamiāsi*, *gaccheyyāma*, *gacchantu*, etc.

The indefinite verbal forms have no personal endings but are either nouns or adjectives or adverbs: *gacchanto*, *gato*, *gantum*, *gantvā*, *gantabbo*.

The finite verbal forms are conjugated in the following tenses and moods:

present indicative and imperative
optative
aorist
future and conditional.

Further there are in the Pali Canon two or three stray forms of the perfect tense. In the postcanonical literature these forms are more numerous

The indefinite verbal forms are divided into:
infinitive
participles: present, past, future
gerund

Classes of the verbs.

The Pali verbal system is directly connected with the Sanskrit verbal system; hence we can follow the Sanskrit division of the verbs into classes.

The verbs are divided into ten classes according to the way in which they form the stem of the present tense.

62. Class 1. To the first class belong the verbs which form the stem of the present by adding to the root the suffix *-a*: *pat-* 'to fall': *pat-a-ti* > *patati*; *vas-* 'to dwell': *vas-a-ti* > *vasati*

In the formation of the present stem, the final vowel of the root or a medial short vowel takes the guṇa grade:

<i>ni-</i>	to lead	<i>ne-a-ti</i> > <i>nay-a-ti</i> > <i>nayati</i>
<i>ru-</i>	to shut	<i>ro-a-ti</i> > <i>rav-a-ti</i> > <i>ravati</i>
<i>bhu-</i>	to be	<i>bho-a-ti</i> > <i>bhav-a-ti</i> > <i>bhavati</i>
<i>hṛ-</i>	to carry	<i>har-a-ti</i> > <i>harati</i>
<i>lih-</i>	to lick	<i>leh-a-ti</i> > <i>lehati</i>
<i>mud-</i>	to rejoice	<i>mod-a-ti</i> > <i>modati</i>
<i>vṛt-</i>	to turn	<i>vart-a-ti</i> > <i>vaṭṭhati</i>

But the vowel *-a* and any medial vowel which is long either by nature or by position remain unchanged:

<i>vah-</i>	to carry	<i>vah-a-ti</i>	<i>vahati</i>
<i>jīv-</i>	to live	<i>jīv-a-ti</i>	<i>jivati</i>
<i>hims-</i>	to hurt	<i>hims-a-ti</i>	<i>himsati</i>
<i>nind-</i>	to blame	<i>nind-a-ti</i>	<i>nindati</i>

a). The root *ruh-* 'to climb' may retain the short vowel or may lengthen it to *-ū* / *-o* in the formation of the stem of the present: *ruhati*, *rūhati* / *rohati*. *Rud-* 'to weep' may retain the short vowel or may lengthen it to *o*: *ruda-* in *rudanto*, but *roda-* in *rodati*.

b). In verbs like *nayati*, *bhavati*, the groups *aya* / *ava* may be contracted to *e* / *o* respectively: *nayati* / *neti*, *bhavati* / *bhoti* and *hoti* with the loss of the consonantal sound

c). To the first class belong also the roots *pā-* 'to drink', *sthā-* 'to stand', *sad-* 'to sit', *gam-* 'to go'. The roots

pā-, sthā- sad- form the present stem with the reduplication with the vowel *i*.

ti-sth-a-ti > *tiṭṭhati*
pi-p-a-ti > *pipati* > *pībati* / *pivati*
si-sd-a-ti > *sisdati* > *sīdati*

Gam- has present tense *gacchati*. (Strictly speaking *gacchati* is an old inchoative form)

Sthā- may form the present tense in several other ways also especially when it is compounded with a prefix:

Like a verb of the second class: *ṭhāti*, *utthāti*

Like a verb of the fourth class: *ṭhāyati*

By splitting up the long vowel into two short vowels of the same kind with the aspirate in between: *utṭhahati*, *sanṭhahati*, *upaṭṭhahati*.

In the imperative it has a form *utṭhehi*.

d). To the first class belongs also *kubbati* 'to do' which has been derived from the Sanskrit form *kurvanti*, third person plural of *kr-*.

e). The first class is very numerous. Here are some of the verbs that may present some difficulty in the formation of the present tense:

<i>cyu-</i>	to fall	<i>co-a-ti</i>	>	<i>cavati</i>
<i>śru-</i>	to flow	<i>so-a-ti</i>	>	<i>savati</i>
<i>dhṛ-</i>	to hold	<i>dhar-a-ti</i>	>	<i>dharati</i>
<i>mr-</i>	to die	<i>mar-a-ti</i>	>	<i>marati</i>
<i>vṛ-</i>	to obstruct	<i>var-a-ti</i>	>	<i>varati</i>
<i>tyaj-</i>	to give up	<i>caj-a-ti</i>	>	<i>cajati</i>
<i>kram-</i>	to walk	<i>kam-a-ti</i>	>	<i>kamati</i>
<i>krīd-</i>	to play	<i>kīl-a-ti</i>	>	<i>kīlāti</i>
<i>vṛdh-</i>	to increase	<i>varḍh-a-ti</i>	>	<i>vardḍhati</i>

<i>kr̥ṣ-</i>	to plough	<i>kar̥ṣ-a-ti</i>	>	<i>kassati</i> / <i>kamsati</i>
<i>vṛṣ-</i>	to rain	<i>vars-a-ti</i>	>	<i>vassati</i>
<i>hr̥ṣ-</i>	to bristle	<i>har̥ṣ-a-ti</i>	>	<i>hassati</i> / <i>hamsati</i>
<i>arh-</i>	to deserve	<i>arah-a-ti</i>	>	<i>arahati</i>
<i>garh-</i>	to blame	<i>garah-a-ti</i>	>	<i>garahati</i>
<i>rakṣ-</i>	to protect	<i>rakṣ-a-ti</i>	>	<i>rakkhati</i>
<i>kāṅkṣ-</i>	to doubt	<i>kankṣ-a-ti</i>	>	<i>kankhati</i>
<i>dhvaṃs-</i>	to destroy	<i>dhvaṃs-a-ti</i>	>	<i>dhamsati</i>

63. Class 2. To the second class belong the verbs which form the present tense by adding the personal endings directly to the root in its guṇa grade. Only a few verbs belong to this class, and even these few verbs have often passed over to another class.

<i>as-</i>	'to be' <i>as-mi</i> > <i>asmi</i> , <i>as-si</i> > <i>asi</i> , <i>as-ti</i> > <i>atthi</i> , etc
<i>han-</i>	'to kill' has only the third person singular: <i>han-ti</i> > <i>hanti</i> . For the rest it is conjugated like a verb of the first class: <i>hanāmi</i> , <i>hanasi</i> , <i>hanati</i> , etc
<i>vac-</i>	'to speak' has only the third person singular: <i>vac-ti</i> > <i>vatti</i>
<i>si-</i>	'to lie down' <i>semi</i> , <i>sesi</i> , <i>seti</i> . The guṇa vowel of the root <i>e</i> is usually expanded to <i>aya</i> and then the verb becomes similar to a verb of the first class: <i>sayāmi</i> , <i>sayasi</i> , <i>sayati</i> , etc.
<i>vid-</i>	'to know' has only the third person singular <i>ved-ti</i> > <i>vetti</i> . For the rest it has passed over to the seventh class: <i>vindami</i> , <i>vindasi</i> , <i>vindati</i> , etc.
<i>brū-</i>	'to say' <i>brumi</i> , <i>brūsi</i> , <i>brūti</i> . The final vowel of the root does not take its guṇa grade.
<i>yā-</i>	'to go' <i>yāmi</i> , <i>yāsi</i> , <i>yāti</i> , etc. <i>Yā-</i> can also be inflected like a verb of the fourth class

- khyā-* 'to speak' is usually used with a prefix, v.g. *akkhāmi*, *akkhāsi*, *akkhāti*.
- vā-* 'to blow' has *vāsi*, *vāti*. Otherwise it has passed over to the fourth class: *vayati*.
- snā-* 'to bathe' has the third person singular *sināti*. Otherwise it is conjugated like a verb of the fourth class: *nahāyati* / *sināyati*.
- bhā-* 'to shine' *bhāti*, *patibhāti*

With the exception of the forms of *as-* (*asmi*, *asi*, *atthi*, etc.) and of the third person *hanti*, nearly all the other forms of the second class are used almost exclusively in poetry.

64. Class 3. To the third class belong a few verbs which form the stem of the present with the reduplication and with the lengthening of the vowel of the root to its *guṇa* grade.

- dā-* to give *da-dā-ti* > *dadāti*
- hā-* to abandon *ja-hā-ti* > *jahāti*
- hu-* to sacrifice *ju-ho-ti* > *juhoti*

dā- has also a present: *deti*

hā- may have a short vowel: *jahati*

hu- may form the present as *juhati* / *juhāti*

Further the root *dhā-* 'to place' forms the present tense as *dahati* or like a verb of the fourth class when compounded *antaradhāyati*.

65. Class 4. To the fourth class belong the verbs which form the stem of the present by adding the suffix *ya* to the root.

- jā-* to be born *jā-ya-ti* > *jāyati*
- mlā-* to fade *mlā-ya-ti* > *mlāyati*
- lī-* to stick *lī-ya-ti* > *liyati*
- nṛt-* to dance *nṛt-ya-ti* > *naccati*
- mad-* to be intoxicated *mad-ya-ti* > *majjati*

- svid-* to sweat *svid-ya-ti* > *sijjati*
- rdh-* to prosper *rdh-ya-ti* > *ijjhati*
- vyadh-* to pierce *vyadh-ya-ti* > *vijjhati*
- budh-* to be awake *budh-ya-ti* > *bujjhati*
- man-* to think *man-ya-ti* > *maññati*
- tṛp-* to be satisfied *tṛp-ya-ti* > *tappati*
- lubh-* to covet *lubh-ya-ti* > *lubbhati*
- siv-* to sew *siv-ya-ti* > *sibbati*
- klīś-* to be stained *klīś-ya-ti* > *kilissati*
- mṛṣ-* to forget *mṛṣ-ya-ti* > *mussati*
- nas-* to perish *nas-ya-ti* > *nassati*
- nah-* to tie *nah-ya-ti* > *nayhati*
- snih-* to be moist *snih-ya-ti* > *siniyhati*
- muh-* to be infatuated *muh-ya-ti* > *muyhati*
- kup-* to be angry *kup-ya-ti* > *kuppati*

66. Class 5. To the fifth class belong a few verbs which form the stem of the present with the suffix *-no*:

- śak-* to be able *śak-no-ti* > *sakkoti*
- śru-* to hear *śru-no-ti* > *sunoti*
- āp-* to reach *āp-no-ti* > *appoti* (*pappoti*)

The verbs of the fifth class usually pass over to the ninth class

67. Class 6. To the sixth class belong the verbs which form the stem of the present by means of the suffix *-a* added to the root:

- likh-* to write *likh-a-ti* > *likhati*
- diś-* to point out *diś-a-ti* > *disati*
- viś-* to enter *viś-a-ti* > *visati*

<i>tud-</i>	to push	<i>tud-a-ti</i> > <i>tudati</i>
<i>nud-</i>	to expel	<i>nud-a-ti</i> > <i>nudati</i>
<i>kṛ-</i>	to scatter	<i>kṛ-a-ti</i> > <i>kirati</i>
<i>mṛś-</i>	to stroke	<i>mṛś-a-ti</i> > <i>masati</i> (<i>āmasati</i>)
<i>spṛś-</i>	to touch	<i>spṛś-a-ti</i> > <i>phusati</i>

To the sixth class belongs also *prch-* 'to ask' and *iṣ-* 'to wish' which form the present tense as *pucchati*, *icchati*

The difference between the first and the sixth class consists in the fact that in the verbs of the first class the vowel of the root takes the guna grade while in the verbs of the sixth class the vowel of the root remains unchanged in its weak grade.

68. Class 7. To the seventh class belong the verbs which form the stem of the present by inserting *-n* before the final consonant of the root and by adding the suffix *-a*:

<i>ric-</i>	to leave	<i>ri-n-c-a-ti</i> > <i>riñcati</i>
<i>sic-</i>	to sprinkle	<i>si-n-c-a-ti</i> > <i>siñcati</i>
<i>muc-</i>	to set free	<i>mu-n-c-a-ti</i> > <i>muñcati</i>
<i>bhaj-</i>	to break	<i>bha-n-j-a-ti</i> > <i>bhañjati</i>
<i>bhuj-</i>	to eat	<i>bhu-n-j-a-ti</i> > <i>bhuñjati</i>
<i>yuj-</i>	to join	<i>yu-n-j-a-ti</i> > <i>yuñjati</i>
<i>kṛt-</i>	to cut	<i>kṛ-n-t-a-ti</i> > <i>kantati</i>
<i>chid-</i>	to cut	<i>chi-n-d-a-ti</i> > <i>chindati</i>
<i>rudh-</i>	to hinder	<i>ru-n-dh-a-ti</i> > <i>rundhati</i>
<i>lip-</i>	to smear	<i>li-n-p-a-ti</i> > <i>limpati</i>

The nasal consonant *-n* is adapted to the following consonant, hence *chindati*, *yuñjati*, *limpati*

69. Class 8. To the eighth class belong the roots *kṛ-* 'to do' and *tan-* 'to stretch' which form the present tense with the suffix *-o*. The root *kṛ-* lengthens the vowel of the root before the suffix:

<i>kṛ-o-ti</i>	>	<i>kar-o-ti</i>	>	<i>karoti</i>
<i>tan-o-ti</i>	>			<i>tanoti</i>

70. Class 9. To the ninth class belong the verbs which form the stem of the present with the suffix *-nā*:

<i>jñā-</i>	to know	<i>jā-nā-ti</i> > <i>jānāti</i>
<i>mā-</i>	to measure	<i>mī-nā-ti</i> > <i>mināti</i>
<i>vā-</i>	to weave	<i>vi-nā-ti</i> > <i>vināti</i>
<i>ci-</i>	to collect	<i>ci-nā-ti</i> > <i>cināti</i>
<i>kṛi-</i>	to buy	<i>kṛi-nā-ti</i> > <i>kiñāti</i>
<i>dhū-</i>	to shake	<i>dhū-nā-ti</i> > <i>dhunāti</i>
<i>lū-</i>	to cut	<i>lu-nā-ti</i> > <i>lunāti</i>
<i>grah-</i>	to take	<i>grah-nā-ti</i> > <i>gaphāti</i>

The verbs of the fifth class *śru-*, *āp-*, *sak-* form the present tense more commonly with the suffix of the ninth class: *śṛṇāti*, *pāpūṇāti*, *sakkunāti*. In *pāpūṇāti* the vowel *-u* has been inserted between the consonant of the root and the suffix; in *sakkunāti* the consonant of the root has been doubled and then the vowel *-u* has been inserted.

71. Class 10. To the tenth class belong some of the verbs which form the stem of the present with the suffix *-aya* which is usually contracted to *-e*:

<i>spṛh-</i>	to desire	<i>spṛh-aya-ti</i> > <i>pihayati</i> / <i>piheti</i>
<i>hu-</i>	to call	<i>hu-aya-ti</i> > <i>hvayati</i> (<i>avhayati</i>)

To the tenth class belong many verbs which strictly speaking are either causative or desiderative verbs; v.g. *cinteti*, *codeti*, *chādeti*, *amanteti*, etc.

72. Verbs belonging to different classes. Sometimes the stem of the present is formed in more than one way and thus the verb may belong to more than one class. Some of these verbs have already been mentioned: *śṛṇoti* / *śṛṇāti*, *sakkoti* / *sakkunāti*, *pappoti* / *pāpūṇāti*,

yāti / yāyati, vāti / vayati, sināti / sināyati, hanti / hanati, titṭhati / ṭhāti / ṭhāyati.

Besides these, there are still several other verbs that form the present in different ways:

ji-	to conquer	I	jayati	IX	jināti
jī-	to grow old	I	jarati	IV	jir-yati > jīrati / jīyati
mṛ-	to die	I	marati	IV	mir-yati > miyyati / mīyati
bhū-	to be	I	bhavati	IX	sambhunāti
lū-	to cut	IX	luṇāti	I	layati (for lavati)
ṭ-	to cross	I	tarati	VI	tīreti (caus. of tirati)
as-	to eat	IX	asnāti	I	asamāna (from asati)
vad-	to speak	I	vadāmi	X	vadasi, vadeti, vadehi
vā-	to weave	IX	vināti	IV	vāyati

The forms *tirati*, *asati* are not found, but they must be postulated to explain forms like *tīreti*, *asamāna*.

The verb *dā-* which belongs to the third class is also inflected like a verb of the tenth class: *demi*, *desi*, *deti*, etc.; and like a verb of the second class: *ādāti*.

Further another peculiar development is the one found in the roots *dā-*, *vid-*, *svad-*, *īr-*:

dā-	diyati, ādiyati 'to wake up', upādiyati 'to take hold of', samādiyati 'to take upon oneself'
vid-	vedeti, vediyati 'to feel'
svad-	sadeti 'to enjoy', sadiyati 'to enjoy for oneself'
īr-	iriyati 'to wander about'

Apparently the suffix *-iya* is an alternative form of *-aya*: *vedeti* / *vedayati* / *vediyati*; *sādeti* / *sādayati* / *sādiyati*; *ireti* / *irayati* / *iriyati*; and similarly *deti* / *diyati*

Present Indicative

73. Present indicative parassapada. The present indicative parassapada is formed by adding the primary personal endings to the stem of the present.

Conjugation of the stems *labha-*, *sunā-*, *cinte-*, *karo-*

1. labhāmi	suṇāmi	cintemi	karomi
2. labhasi	suṇāsi	cintesi	karosi
3. labhati	suṇāti	cinteti	karoti
1. labhāma	suṇāma	cintema	karoma
2. labhatha	suṇātha	cintetha	karotha
3. labhanti	suṇanti	cintenti	karonti

- The stems in *-a* lengthen this vowel in the first person singular and plural, hence *labhāmi*, *labhāma*.
- In the first person singular the final vowel is sometimes dropped: *labhāmi* / *labham*.
- The root *dā-* forms the present tense as *dadāmi* / *demi*. Further it has *dammi* in the first person singular.
- The verb *bhavati* may lose the first mute consonant and then it may be contracted: *bhavati* > *havati* > *hoti*. In composition sometimes the labial *-bh* is retained but *-ava* is contracted: *anubhavati* > *anubhoti*.
- The root *as-* is inflected as follows:

asmi, amhi	asma, amha
asi	attha
atthi	santi

74. Present indicative attanopada. The present indicative attanopada is formed by adding the middle personal endings to the stem of the present.

<i>labhe</i>	<i>labhamhe</i>
<i>labhase</i>	<i>labhavhe</i>
<i>labhate</i>	<i>labhante</i>

- a). In the first person plural there are some alternative forms ending in *-mahe*, *-mase*, *-mhase*: *bhavāmahe*, *abhinandāmase*, *yamamase*, *saramhase*
- b). In the third person plural there is an alternative form in *-re*: *labhare*, *socare*, *upapajjare*.
- c). The verbs of the tenth class and those that form the stem of the present with the suffix *-aya / -e*, form the attanopada from the stem in *-aya*: *patthaye*, *patthayase*, *patthayate*, etc. There is, however, in the first person singular *āgame* < *āgameti*.
- d). The attanopada of *kṛ-* is *kubbe*, *kubbase*, etc. There is also a first person *kare* and a third person *kurute*.

Imperative

75. Imperative parassapada. The imperative is inflected in the second and third person singular and plural. The personal endings proper to it are *-hi*, *-tu*, *-tha*, *-ntu*.

2	<i>labha</i>	<i>sunā</i>	<i>cintaya</i>		
	<i>labhāhi</i>	<i>sunāhi</i>	<i>cintayāhi</i>	<i>cintehi</i>	<i>karohi</i>
3.	<i>labhatu</i>	<i>sunātu</i>	<i>cintayatu</i>	<i>cintetu</i>	<i>karotu</i>
2.	<i>labhatha</i>	<i>sunātha</i>	<i>cintayatha</i>	<i>cintetha</i>	<i>karotha</i>
3.	<i>labhantu</i>	<i>sunantu</i>	<i>cintayantu</i>	<i>cintentu</i>	<i>karontu</i>

- a). The verbs that have their present stem in *-ā / -a*, have two forms for the second person singular: one ending in *a* and the other ending in *-hi* with the previous vowel lengthened: *labha* / *labhāhi*, *sunā* / *sunāhi*. The stems in

-e / -o have only the form with the ending *-hi*. *cintehi*, *karohi*, *hohi*, *sunohi*. Similarly *brū-* has *brūhi*

- b). Some verbs have more than one form for the imperative

bhū- *bhava*, *bhavāhi*, *hohi*

dā- *dada*, *dadāhi*, *dehi*

śru- *śuna*, *śunāhi*, *sunohi*

kṛ- *karohi*, *kara*, *kuru*. In the third person it has *kurutu*.

The root *as-* has *atthu* for the third person singular and *attha* for the second person plural.

76. Imperative attanopada. The imperative attanopada is formed only from the present stems in *-a / -ā*. The personal endings are: *-ssu*, *-tam*, *-vho*, *-ntam*:

2. *labhassu* *labhavho*

3. *labhatam* *labhantam*

The root *kṛ-* has *karassu* / *kurussu*, *kurutam*, *kuruvho*

Optative

77. Optative parassapada. The optative parassapada may be formed in various ways.

- a). *labh-* 'to obtain':

1. *labheyyāmi* *labheyyama*

2. *labheyyāsi* *labheyyātha*

3. *labheyyāti*

This is the simplest way of forming the optative, that is, by adding to the stem of the present, without the final vowel, the suffix *-eyyā-* and the primary personal endings:

labha- *labh-eyyā-mi* *sunā-* *sun-eyyā-mi*

karo- *kar-eyyā-mi* *cinte-* *cint-eyyā-mi*

In this form the third person plural is missing.

- b). The optative is also formed by adding to the stem of the present the suffix *-i* and the secondary personal endings:

1. *labha-i-am* > *labhe-am* > *labheyam* / *labheyyam*

2. *labha-i-s* > *labhes* > *labhe*

3. *labha-i-t* > *labhet* > *labhe*

1. *labha-i-ma* > *labhema*

2. *labha-i-tha* > *labhetha*

3. *labha-i-um* > *labhe-um* > *labheyum* / *labheyyum* / *labheyyu*

The form *labheyyam* of the first person singular has given rise to two analogical forms for the second and third person singular: *labheyya*, *labheyya*.

Further the forms *labhe* for the second and third person singular have given rise to an analogical form *labhe* for the first person singular; hence in the singular we may have

1. *labheyyam* *labhe*

2. *labheyya* *labhe*

3. *labnheyya* *labhe*

- c). In a few cases the optative has been formed by adding to the stem of the present, without the final vowel, the suffix *-yā* and the secondary personal endings:

jānā-yā-m > *jān-yā-m* > *jaññam*;

jān-yā-t > *jaññā*

karo-yā-t > *kar-yā-t* > *karyā* / *kayirā*

dadā- > *dad-yā-t* > *dajjā*, pl. *dajjum*

vada- > *vad-yā-t* > *vajjā*

- d). Sometimes a double formation is found: *dadā-* > *dajjā*, and then from *dajjā* there is *dajjeyyāsi*, *dajjeyyāma*, *dajjeyyātha*, *dajjeyyum*.

- e). In poetry sometimes the first person plural ends in *-mu*: *janemu*, *vindemu*.

- f). The optative *niccheyya* is formed from the root and not from the present stem.

- g). The optative of the verb *as-* is the following.

1. *assam*, *siyam* *assāma*

2. *assa* *assatha*

3. *assa*, *siyā* *assu*, *siyum*

78. **Attanopada optative.** In the attanopada optative there are some stray forms according to one or the other pattern already explained:

1. *labheyyam* *labhemase*, *labheyyamhe*

2. *labhetho* *labheyyavho*

3. *labhetha* *labheraṇ*

The root *kr-* has *kayirātha* in the third person.

FUTURE TENSE

79. **Formation of the parassapada future.** The future is formed in three different ways:

1). by adding to the present stem, without its final vowel, the connecting vowel *-i-*, the suffix *-ssa-* and the primary personal endings: *labh-i-ssa-ti* > *labhissati*.

2). by adding to the root, with the vowel in its guna grade, the connecting vowel *-i-*, the suffix *-ssa-* and the primary personal endings: *gam-i-ssa-ti* > *gamissati*; *bhū-*: *bho-i-ssa-ti* > *bhav-i-ssa-ti* > *bhavissati*.

3). by adding to the root, with the vowel in its guna grade, the suffix *-ssa* and the primary personal endings: *dā-ssa-ti* > *dassati*.

1. <i>labhissāmi</i>	<i>gamissāmi</i>	<i>dassāmi</i>
2. <i>labhissasi</i>	<i>gamissasi</i>	<i>dassasi</i>
3. <i>labhissati</i>	<i>gamissati</i>	<i>dassati</i>
1. <i>labhissāma</i>	<i>gamissāma</i>	<i>dassāma</i>
2. <i>labhissatha</i>	<i>gamissatha</i>	<i>dassatha</i>
3. <i>labhissanti</i>	<i>gamissanti</i>	<i>dassanti</i>

- a). The future is inflected like the present tense and hence it lengthens the vowel of the suffix before the personal endings of the first person: *labhissāmi* / *labhissāma*. Further in the first person singular the final vowel is sometimes dropped: *labhissāmi* / *labhissam*.
- b). The verbs of the tenth class and all the verbs that have the present stem in *-aya* / *-e*, form the future from the stem of the present tense in *-aya*:

<i>cintaya-</i>	<i>cintay-i-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>cintayissati</i>
<i>karaya-</i>	<i>karay-i-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>karayissati</i>
<i>pūjaya-</i>	<i>pūjay-i-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>pūjayissati</i>

The group *ayi*, however, may be contracted to *-e*:

<i>cintayissati</i>	/	<i>cintessati</i>
<i>karayissati</i>	/	<i>karessati</i>

- c). The root *grah-* 'to seize' takes the connecting vowel, *-i* which is changed to *-e* before two consonants:
- grah-i-ssa-ti* > *gahissati* / *gahessati*
- d). The formation of the future obtained by adding the suffix directly to the root, often entails the application of sandhi rules.

<i>jñā-</i>	to know	<i>jñā-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>ñassati</i>
<i>i-</i>	to go	<i>e-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>essati</i>
<i>ci-</i>	to collect	<i>ce-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>cessati</i> (<i>pacessati</i>)

<i>ji-</i>	to conquer	<i>je-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>jessati</i> (<i>vijessati</i>)
<i>śi-</i>	to lie down	<i>se-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>sessati</i>
<i>nī-</i>	to lead	<i>ne-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>nessati</i>
<i>bhū-</i>	to be	<i>bho-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>bhossati</i> (<i>anubhossati</i>)
<i>kṛ-</i>	to do	<i>kar-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>kassati</i>
<i>hṛ-</i>	to carry	<i>har-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>hassati</i> (<i>viḥassati</i>)
<i>vac-</i>	to speak	<i>vac-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>vakkhati</i>
<i>muc-</i>	to set free	<i>moc-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>mokkhati</i>
<i>bhuj-</i>	to eat	<i>bhoj-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>bhokkhati</i>
<i>śak-</i>	to be able	<i>sak-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>sakkhati</i>
<i>chid-</i>	to cut	<i>ched-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>checchati</i>
<i>bhid-</i>	to break	<i>bhed-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>bhecchati</i>
<i>rud-</i>	to weep	<i>rud-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>rucchati</i>
<i>labh-</i>	to obtain	<i>labh-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>lacchati</i>
<i>vas-</i>	to dwell	<i>vas-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>vacchati</i>
<i>vis-</i>	to enter	<i>ves-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>vekkhati</i> (<i>pavekkhati</i>)
<i>dṛś-</i>	to see	<i>dras-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>dakkhati</i>

The root *rud-* does not lengthen the vowel; *rucchati*.

The root *han-* has *hañchati* / *hankhati*; these forms may be explained by the insertion of a *-t* and a *-k*:

<i>han-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>han-t-ssati</i>	>	<i>hañchati</i>
<i>han-ssa-ti</i>	>	<i>han-k-ssati</i>	>	<i>hankhati</i>

In the third person singular and sometimes even in the third person plural the vowel of the suffix is reduced: *rucchati* / *rucchiti*, *dakkhati* / *dakkhiti* / *dakkhinti*.

In *sakkhati* the consonant group is sometimes softened. *sagghati*

A double future is sometimes built up from *sakkhati*, *dakkhati*: *sakkhissati*, *dakkhissati*.

- e). In poetry some of the future forms have undergone further phonological changes:

dā-	dassasi > dāsasi > dāhasi / dāhisi (padāhisi)
i-	essati > esati / ehati / ehi (ehisi, upehisi)
bhū-	bhossati > hossati / hosati / hohati / bohiti (hohisi)
	bhavissati > havissati > hessati
	hessati > hesati > hehati / hehiti (hehisi)
kṛ-	karssati > kāssati > kāsati > kāhati / kāhiti
	(kāhāmi, kāhasi, kāhanti)
hṛ-	harssati > hāssati > hāsati > hāhati > hāhiti
	(hāhāmi, hāhasi, hāhanti)

Viharati has two future forms: *vihessati* / *vihissati* while *palāyati* has *palehiti*.

The phonological rules at work in these forms are the following:

a short vowel before two consonants is equivalent to a long vowel before one consonant: *kassati* / *kāsati*;

an intervocalic sibilant is changed to -h: *kāsati* / *kāhati*;

a vowel is reduced when it is preceded by a strong accented syllable: *kāhati* > *kāhiti*, *dakkhati* > *dakkhiti*.

80. **Attanopada future.** The attanopada future is obtained by changing the parassapada personal endings into the attanopada endings:

1. labhisse	labhissamhe
2. labhissase	labhissavhe
3. labhissate	labhissante

The Conditional

81. **Formation of the conditional.** The conditional is formed from the future by prefixing the augment a- and by changing the primary into the secondary personal endings: *labhissāmi* > *alabhissam*.

1. alabhissam	alabhissāma
2. alabhissa	alabhissatha
3. alabhissa	alabhissamsu

The Aorist

The aorist is formed by prefixing the augment a- to the root and by adding the secondary personal endings either directly or by means of one of the suffixes -a, -s, -is. Hence there are four types of aorists: root aorist, a-aorist, s-aorist, is-aorist.

82. **The augment.** In Pali there is no strict rule regarding the use of the augment, yet this may be said:

- The root aorist always takes the augment: *a-dā*, *a-hu*, *a-gā*, *ajjh-a-gā*.
- The a-aorist generally takes the augment: *a-gama*, *a-ddasa*, *a-bhāsatha*.
- The s-aorist formed from the verbal root and the extended s-aorist formed from the a-aorist, generally take the augment: *a-ssosi*, *a-dasi*, *a-kāsi*, *a-hosi*, *a-gamāsi*, *a-ddasāsi*.

The s-aorist formed from the stem of the present in -e (verbs of the tenth class and causative verbs), generally does not take the augment: *cintesi*, *pujesi*, *karesi*, *thāpesi*.

- The is-aorist formed from the root of the verb, generally takes the augment: *a-gamim*, *a-padi*, *a-tāri*, *a-ggahi*, *a-asim* > *āsim*.

When the is-aorist is formed from the present stem, the augment is optional, but the forms without the augment are much more

numerous than those with the augment: *a-gacchi / gacchi, a-desayi, a-mohayi, gaṇhi, nikkhami, vicari, pesayi*.

- e). Sometimes the augment is not used when the verb is compounded with a prefix ending in *-a*: *pa-hāsi, pa-mimsu, upa-pajjatha*.
- f). In poetry the use of the augment often depends on the requirements of the metre.

The Root Aorist

83. Formation of the root aorist. The root aorist is formed by adding the secondary personal endings to the root preceded by the augment:

1. <i>a-dā-m</i>	<i>adam</i>		
2. <i>a-dā-s</i>	<i>adā</i>		
3. <i>a-dā-t</i>	<i>adā</i>	<i>a-dā-u</i>	<i>adu</i>
		<i>a-dā-um</i>	<i>adum</i>

In this aorist the first and second person plural are missing. In the third person plural, the final vowel of the root is elided before the ending *-u / -um*.

Besides *dā-*, the other roots which take this aorist are: *ga-*, *sthā-*, *bhū-*, *kṛ-*: *agā, aṭṭhā, ahu, akā*. The root *bhū-* loses the initial mute consonant and retains only the aspiration. The root *kṛ-* takes the guna grade in the formation of the root aorist: *a-kar-t > akari > akatt > akā*.

The A - Aorist

84. Formation of the a-aorist. The a-aorist is formed by adding the secondary personal endings to the root by means of the suffix *-a*.

1. *a-gam-a-m > agamam* *a-gam-a-ma > agamama*
 2. *a-gam-a-s > agama* *a-gam-a-tha > agamatha*
 3. *a-gam-a-t > agama* *a-gam-a-um > agamum*

- a). In the second person singular the suffix *-a* with the ending *-s* sometimes gives rise to *-o*: *pamād-a-s > pamādo*

In the third person singular the final vowel may be long or short *addasā / addasa, agamā / agama*.

In the first person plural, the vowel of the suffix is lengthened before the ending: *agamama, addasāma*.

In the third person plural, the vowel of the suffix *-is* is dropped before the ending *-um*: *agam-a-um > agamum*. Sometimes the ending is *-u* without the niggahita: *alatthum / paccalatthu*.

In the plural there are forms built up on the pattern of the s-aorist: *akaramha, alatthamha, pamādattha, alatthamsu*. The third person plural *addamsu* has been built on the same pattern, though in this form the *-s* belongs to the root and not to the suffix.

- b). The root *mad-* lengthens the vowel of the root: *pamādo*. *Bhū-* has *ahuva*, *chid-* has *acchida*, *bhid-* has *abhida*, *drś-* has *addasa (a-dras-s-at)*, *kṛ-* has *akara*.

Vac- has the ordinary aorist *avaca*, and it has also *avoca*. *Avoca* is a reduplicated weakened aorist: *a-va-vac-a-t > a-va-uc-a-t > avoca* (the first syllable of the root is first doubled, then it is weakened to *-uc* and then contraction of the two vowels coming together takes place). The inflection is as follows: *avocam, avoca, avoca, avocumha, avocuttha, avocum*. In the first and second person plural the vowel *-a* is changed to *-u* and the suffix *-s* is added as in the s-aorist. *avoc-u-s-ma > avocumha*

Man- forms the aorist from the stem of the present: *amaññam, amaññatha*.

Labh- has an a-aorist. *alattham, alattha, alatthamha, alatthum / alatthu / alatthamsu*.

85. Formation of the attanopada a-aorist. The attanopada a-aorist is formed by adding the secondary attanopada endings. Only a few forms are found in the Canonical literature: *bhās-* : *abhāsatha*, *kṛ-* : *akaramhase*, *man-* : *amaññarum*, *pad-* : *upapajjatha*, *vid-* : *vindatha*, *badh-* : *abajjhare*. This last has been formed from the present passive.

The S - Aorist

86. Formation of the s-aorist. The s-aorist is formed in two ways:

1. by adding the secondary personal endings by means of the suffix *-s* to the root in its guna grade;

2. by adding the secondary personal endings by means of the suffix *-s* to the stem of the present when this ends in *-e* as in the verbs of the tenth class and in causative verbs.

3. further in the singular the vowel *-i* is inserted between the suffix *-s* and the personal ending

dā- *a-dā-s-i-m* > *adāsim*

śru- *a-sso-s-i-m* > *assosim*

cinte- *cinte-s-i-m* > *cintesim*

1. *a-dā-s-i-m* > *adāsi* *a-sso-s-i-m* > *assosim* *cinte-s-i-m* > *cintesim*

2. *a-dā-s-i-s* > *adāsi* *a-sso-s-i-s* > *assosi* *cinte-s-i-s* > *cintesi*

3. *a-dā-s-i-t* > *adāsi* *a-sso-s-i-t* > *assosi* *cinte-s-i-t* > *cintesi*

1 *a-dā-s-ma* > *adamha* *a-sso-s-ma* > *assumha*

2 *a-dā-s-tha* > *adattha* *a-sso-s-tha* > *assuttha*

3. *a-dā-s-um* > *adasum* *a-sso-s-um* > *assosum* *cinte-s-um* > *cintesum*

a) In the first and second person plural the vowel *-o* is reduced to *-u* before two consonants:

assosma > *assomha* > *assumha*,

assostha > *assottha* > *assuttha*,

ahosma > *ahomha* > *ahumha*,

ahostha > *ahottha* > *ahuttha*.

In the first and second person plural there are also found some extended forms built up with the suffixes *-s-is*:

adā-s-is-ma > *adāsimha*, *adā-s-is-tha* > *adāsitttha*.

In the third person plural the ending *-um* sometimes loses its nasalization: *adakkhum* / *adakkhu*. Further the root vowel becomes nasalized when it is *-a*: *adāsum* / *adamsu*, *akāsum* / *akamsu*; similarly *pahamsu*, *samādahamsu*. Further when the vowel *-a* is nasalized, sometimes it is reduced to *-i*: *vihamasu* / *viḥimsu*, *aññamsu* / *aññimsu*. Sometimes even the stems in *-e* reduce their vowel to *-i*: *samesum* / *samimsu*, *vupasamimsu*.

b). The s-aorist is taken by a few verbal roots ending in *-a*, *-i*, *-ī*, *-u*, *-ū*, *-ṛ* and by a few roots ending in a consonant.

<i>khyā-</i> to speak	<i>akkhāsi</i>	<i>bhū-</i> to be	<i>ahosi</i>
<i>yā-</i> to go	<i>payāsi</i>	<i>hr-</i> to carry	<i>ahāsi</i>
<i>sthā-</i> to stand	<i>aṭṭhāsi</i>	<i>chid-</i> to cut	<i>acchechhi</i>
<i>hā-</i> to abandon	<i>ahāsi</i>	<i>drś-</i> to see	<i>addakkhi</i>
<i>i-</i> to go	<i>pahesi</i>	<i>viś-</i> to enter	<i>pavekkhi</i>
<i>ji-</i> to conquer	<i>ajesi</i>	<i>sak-</i> to be able	<i>asakkhi</i>
<i>nī-</i> to lead	<i>anesi</i>	<i>grah-</i> to take	<i>aggahesi</i>
<i>śi-</i> to lie down	<i>sesi</i>		

From the roots *pā-* 'to drink' and *dhā-* 'to place', there are found *apamsu*, *samādahamsu*.

c). The s-aorist is taken by all the verbs which have the stem of the present in *-e*: *cintesi*, *kāresi*, *pūjesi*, *kathesi*, etc. In these verbs the first and second person plural are missing and their absence is made good by the same persons of the is-aorist: *cintayimha*, *karayimha*, *cintayitttha*, *karayitttha*, etc.

- d) There is also an extended s-aorist formed from the a-aorist: *agamā / agamāsi, avacā / avacāsi, ahuvā / ahuvāsi, addasā / addasāsi*. Similarly are formed some aorists from the present stem: *pata- : apatāsi, jaha- : pajahāsi, piva- : pivāsi*. Their inflection is as follows.

1. *agamāsim* *agamamha*
2. *agamāsi* *agamattha*
3. *agamāsi* *agamamsu*

- e). In the attanopada there are only a few stray forms in the third singular: *udapattha < uda-pat, alattha < labh-*. From the form *alattha* a whole a-aorist has been built (84b).

T h e I s - A o r i s t

87. Formation of the is-aorist. The is-aorist is formed by adding the secondary personal endings by means of the suffix *-is* either to the root in its *guna* grade or to the stem of the present.

1. *agam-is-m* > *agamim* *gacch-is-m* > *gacchim*
2. *agam-is-s* > *agami* *gacch-is-s* > *gacchi*
3. *agam-is-t* > *agami* *gacch-is-t* > *gacchi*
1. *agam-is-ma* > *agamimha* *gacch-is-ma* > *gacchimha*
2. *agam-is-tha* > *agamittha* *gacch-is-tha* > *gacchittha*
3. *agam-is-um* > *agamisum* *gacch-is-um* > *gacchisum*

- a). In the first person singular the ending may be *-m / -am*; hence *agamim / agamisam, gacchim / gacchisam*. Similarly *abhuñjīsam, anuyūñjisam, pucchisam, anucankamisam*. Further the *-s* has sometimes been doubled: *sandhavissam, amaññissam, vandissam, upavasissam*.

In the third person plural the final vowel may lose its nasalization and then the vowel *-i* of the suffix is nasalized: *agamisum / agamimsu, gacchisum / gacchimsu*

In the third person plural the ending is sometimes added without the suffix *-is*, just as in the a-aorist: *cintayimsu / cintayum*. Similarly *adassayum, nivesayum, āsum, apādum, abravum, abbhuggaṇchum*.

In *gacchi* the double consonant is simplified and the vowel is nasalized: *gacchi / gañchi, gacchum / gañchum*

Abhavisum < bhū- is usually contracted to *ahesum*. From *ahesum* a new analogical form has been built for the first person plural: *ahesumha*.

Dakkhisum is a double aorist formed with the suffixes *-s + -is* and with the reduction of the vowel *-a > -i*: *drak-s-is-am > dakkh-is-am > dakkhisam > dakkhisum*.

- b). When the is-aorist is formed from the root, the vowel of the root takes its *guna* grade. In a few cases the vowel *-a* appears in its *vṛddhi* grade:

<i>bhū-</i>	to be	<i>abhavi</i>	
<i>brū-</i>	to speak	<i>abravi</i>	
<i>ṭ-</i>	to cross	<i>atari</i>	(<i>atāri</i>)
<i>pad-</i>	to go	<i>apādi</i>	(<i>udapādi</i>)
<i>bhid-</i>	to break	<i>abhedi</i>	
<i>vid-</i>	to know	<i>avedi</i>	
<i>budh-</i>	to awake	<i>abodhi</i>	
<i>mud-</i>	to rejoice	<i>modi</i>	(<i>anumodi</i>)
<i>rud-</i>	to cry	<i>rodi</i>	(<i>parodi</i>)
<i>rudh-</i>	to obstruct	<i>rodhi</i>	(<i>nirodhi</i>)
<i>kram-</i>	to walk	<i>kāmi</i>	(<i>pakkāmi</i> but <i>nikkhami, upasankami</i>)
<i>as-</i>	to be	<i>āsi</i>	
<i>viś-</i>	to enter	<i>visi</i>	(<i>pāvisi</i>)
<i>car-</i>	to move	<i>acari</i>	(<i>acāri</i>)

- c). The is-aorist formed from the stem of the present has become the most common aorist in Pali and can be formed from any present stem ending in -a, which vowel is elided before the suffix -is: *cintaya-*: *cintayī*; *pūjaya-*: *pūjayī*; *pāpuna-*: *pāpunī*.

The root *kr-* has the is-aorist *karim* built from the stem *kara*.

The is-aorist is formed also from the present stem of passive verbs: *vimucci*, *chijji*, *muccimsu*, *haññimsu*

- d). The attanopada forms of this aorist are confined to the second and third person singular of both transitive and passive verbs: *maññittho*, *pucchittho*, *patisevittho*, *pucchittha*, *jiyittha*, *paññāyittha*, *diyittha*.

The Perfect

88. In the canonical books the only forms of the perfect seem to be *āha* for the second and the third person singular; *āhu*, *āhamsu*, *vidū*, *vidum* for the third person plural. The alternative form *āhamsu* has been built on the analogy of the aorist.

In the postcanonical books there are a few more forms of the perfect borrowed from Sanskrit, v.g. *jagāma*, *babhūva*.

The Passive

89. Formation of the passive. A transitive verb may be turned into passive by adding the suffix -ya either to the root in its weak grade, directly or by means of the connecting vowel -i / -ī; or to the present stem by means of the connecting vowel -i / -ī.

- a). The passive is formed by adding the suffix -ya directly

1. to the roots ending in one of the vowels -i, -ī, -u, -ū. Before the suffix -ya the vowels -i / -u are lengthened, or the vowels -ī / -ū are shortened and the -y of the suffix is doubled:

<i>ji-</i>	to conquer	<i>jīyati</i> / <i>jīyyati</i>
<i>nī-</i>	to lead	<i>nīyati</i> / <i>nīyyati</i>
<i>śru-</i>	to hear	<i>sūyati</i> / <i>suyyati</i>
<i>bhū-</i>	to be	<i>abhibhūyati</i> / <i>abhibhuyyati</i>

2. to roots ending in -ā:

<i>jñā-</i>	to know	<i>ñāyati</i>
<i>khyā-</i>	to speak	<i>khāyati</i> (<i>akkhāyati</i>)

3. to roots ending in a single consonant:

<i>pac-</i>	to cook	<i>pac-ya-ti</i> > <i>paccati</i>
<i>han-</i>	to kill	<i>han-ya-ti</i> > <i>haññati</i>
<i>labh-</i>	to obtain	<i>labh-ya-ti</i> > <i>labbhati</i>
<i>chid-</i>	to cut	<i>chid-ya-ti</i> > <i>chijjati</i>
<i>yudh-</i>	to fight	<i>yudh-ya-ti</i> > <i>yujjhati</i>
<i>drś-</i>	to see	<i>drś-ya-ti</i> > <i>dissati</i>
<i>dah-</i>	to burn	<i>dah-ya-ti</i> > <i>dayhati</i>

4. to roots beginning with the sonant *v-* and in which the syllable of the root is weakened; v.g. *vac-ya-ti* > *vc-ya-ti* > *uc-ya-ti* > *vuccati*. In these roots the syllable of the root is weakened and then the sonant, followed by a consonant, becomes a vowel *vc->uc-*. Further, when a word begins with *u-* in Pali, sometimes a *v-* is prefixed to it, hence *vuccati*.

<i>vac-</i>	to speak	<i>uc-ya-ti</i> > <i>uccati</i> > <i>vuccati</i>
<i>vas-</i>	to dwell	<i>us-ya-ti</i> > <i>ussati</i> > <i>vussati</i>
<i>vap-</i>	to sow	<i>up-ya-ti</i> > <i>uppati</i> > <i>vuppati</i>
<i>vah-</i>	to bear	<i>uh-ya-ti</i> > <i>uyhati</i> > <i>vuyhati</i>

5. to roots ending in -r / -ṛ which is changed to -īr / -ūr before the suffix -ya:

<i>hr-</i>	to carry	<i>hir-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>hīrati</i>	<i>hīrati</i>
<i>kr-</i>	to do	<i>kīr-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>kīrati</i>	<i>kīrati</i>
		<i>kīr-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>kiyyati</i>	<i>kīyati</i> (<i>sankīyati</i>)
<i>pī-</i>	to fill	<i>pūr-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>pūrrati</i>	<i>pūrati</i> (<i>paripūrati</i>)

The vowel *-ī* > *-ūr* after the labial consonant *p-* otherwise it becomes *-īr*

The group *-ry* > *-rr* / *-yy* and then the group is simplified and the previous vowel is lengthened

- b). The passive is formed by adding the suffix *-ya* by means of the connecting vowel *-ī* to the weak grade of some of the roots ending in *-ā*:

<i>dā-</i>	to give	<i>d-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>diyati</i>	/	<i>diyyati</i>
<i>dhā-</i>	to place	<i>dh-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>dhiyati</i>	/	<i>dhiyyati</i>
<i>mā-</i>	to measure	<i>m-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>mīyati</i>	/	<i>miyyati</i>
<i>va-</i>	to weave	<i>v-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>vīyati</i>	/	<i>viyyati</i>
<i>hā-</i>	to abandon	<i>h-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>hiyati</i>	/	<i>hiyyati</i>

The root *hā-* has also a passive *hāyati*. The passive form *apīdhiyati*, from the root *dhā-* and the prefix *api-*, loses the initial vowel and the soft dental is changed into the hard one: *pīthīyati*.

- d). The passive is formed also by adding the suffix *ya-* by means of the connecting vowel *-ī* / *-j* to the stem of the present after dropping the last vowel: *ukkhīpa-* > *ukkhīpiyati*.

This way of forming the passive is common:

- 1). when the stem of the present ends in a vowel preceded by an *r-*:

<i>hara-</i>	<i>har-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>hariyati</i>
<i>kara-</i>	<i>kar-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>kariyati</i>
<i>kīra-</i>	<i>kīr-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>kīriyati</i>

- 2). when the stem of the present contains a heavy syllable, i.e. a syllable with a long vowel followed by one consonant or a syllable with a short vowel followed by two consonants:

<i>yāc-</i>	:	<i>yāc-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>yāciyati</i>
<i>yuñj-</i>	:	<i>yuñj-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>yuñjiyati</i>
<i>chind-</i>	:	<i>chind-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>chundiyaṭi</i>

- 3). when the verb belongs to the tenth class or is a causative verb. In this case the final *-aya* / *-e* is dropped before *-ī*

<i>cintaya-</i>	:	<i>cint-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>cintiyati</i>
<i>desaya-</i>	:	<i>des-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>desiyati</i>
<i>karaya-</i>	:	<i>kar-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>kariyati</i>
<i>pūje-</i>	:	<i>pūj-ī-ya-ti</i>	>	<i>pūjiyati</i>

The Causative Verb

90. Formation of the causative verb. The causative verb may be formed either from the verbal root or from the stem of the present.

- a). The causative verb is formed by adding the suffix *-aya* / *-e* to the verbal root before which

- 1). a final vowel is lengthened to its vṛddhi grade:

<i>bhī-</i>	to be afraid	<i>bhāy-aya-ti</i>	>	<i>bhāyayati</i>
<i>śru-</i>	to hear	<i>sāv-e-ti</i>	>	<i>sāveti</i>
<i>bhū-</i>	to be	<i>bhav-e-ti</i>	>	<i>bhāveti</i>
<i>kr-</i>	to do	<i>kār-e-ti</i>	>	<i>kāreti</i>
<i>mṛ-</i>	to die	<i>mār-e-ti</i>	>	<i>māreti</i>
<i>hu-</i>	to sacrifice	<i>hāv-e-ti</i>	>	<i>hāveti</i> / <i>hāpeti</i>

In the last example the consonant *v* is changed to *p*.

2). a medial -a, followed by one consonant, is generally lengthened to its vrddhi grade:

pat-	to fall	pāt-e-ti	>	pāyeti
bhāj-	to share	bhāj-e-ti	>	bhāyeti
vraj-	to go	vāj-e-ti	>	vāyeti (pabbāyeti)

In some cases the vowel is nasallized instead of being lengthened:

labh-	to obtain	lambh-e-ti	>	lambheti
hṛṣ-	to bristle	hams-e-ti	>	hamseti

If the vowel is already followed by a nasal or by a double consonant, then the vowel remains unchanged:

rañj-	to be delighted	rañj-e-ti	>	rañjeti
lañch-	to seal	lañch-e-ti	>	lañcheti
lagg-	to adhere	lagg-e-ti	>	laggeti

In some verbs, though the medial vowel -a is followed by one consonant, that vowel is not lengthened or is lengthened optionally:

gam-	to go	gam-e-ti	>	gameti
jan-	to be born	jan-e-ti	>	janeti
dam-	to tame	dam-e-ti	>	dameti
lap-	to talk	lap-e-ti	>	lapeti
nam-	to bend	nam-e-ti	>	nameti/nāmeti (vitiṇāmeti)

3). By lengthening any other short medial vowel to its guṇa grade:

bhid-	to break	bhed-e-ti	>	bhedeti
sniḥ-	to be moist	sneh-e-ti	>	sneheti
muc-	to be free	moc-e-ti	>	moceti

yuj-	to join	yoj-e-ti	>	yojeti
vr̥dh-	to grow	vardh-e-ti	>	vaddheti

The causative of the roots vyadh- "to pierce", svid- "to sweat" is vedheti, sedeti.

b). Roots ending in -ā form the causative by inserting the consonant -p between the root and the suffix -aya / -e.

<i>mā-</i>	to measure	<i>mā-p-e-ti</i>	<i>māpeti</i>
<i>yā-</i>	to go	<i>yā-p-e-ti</i>	<i>yāpeti</i>
<i>hā-</i>	to abandon	<i>hā-p-e-ti</i>	<i>hāpeti</i>
<i>dā-</i>	to give	<i>dāpeti, ādāpeti, samādāpeti</i>	
<i>sthā-</i>	to stand	<i>ṭhāpeti, utthāpeti, saṇthāpeti, saṇthāpeti</i>	
<i>dā-</i>	to wash	<i>dāpeti (pariyodāpeti)</i>	

The root ṛ- 'to rise' takes guṇa and inserts the consonant -p: ar-p-e-ti > appeti.

c). Some verbs form their causative in different ways:

<i>kṛ-</i>	to scatter	<i>kireti</i>	(<i>pakireti</i>)
<i>tṛ-</i>	to cross	<i>tāreti</i>	(<i>tīreti</i>)
<i>pr-</i>	to be full	<i>pūreti</i>	
<i>duṣ-</i>	to be soiled	<i>duseti</i>	
<i>ruh-</i>	to climb	<i>ropeti</i>	
<i>han-</i>	to kill	<i>ghātetī</i>	
<i>pā-</i>	to drink	<i>pāyeti</i>	
<i>pā-</i>	to protect	<i>pāleti</i>	
<i>pri-</i>	to be glad	<i>pīneti</i>	

d). The causative is formed also from the present stem by adding to it the suffix -āpaya / -āpe, before which the final vowel of the stem and the final group -aya in the verbs of the tenth class are dropped:

<i>nisida-</i>	to sit	<i>nisidāpeti</i>
<i>chinda-</i>	to cut	<i>chindāpeti</i>
<i>karo-</i>	to do	<i>karāpeti</i>
<i>ocinā-</i>	to gather	<i>ocināpeti</i>
<i>pūjaya-</i>	to worship	<i>pūjāpeti</i>

e). Sometimes a double causative is formed by adding the suffix *-āpaya* / *-āpe* to the stem of the simple causative without its final vowel:

<i>sodhe-</i>	<i>sodh-āpe-ti</i> >	<i>sodhāpeti</i>
<i>ghāte-</i>	<i>ghāt-āpe-ti</i> >	<i>ghātāpeti</i>
<i>kāre-</i>	<i>kār-āpe-ti</i> >	<i>kārāpeti</i>
<i>pāye-</i>	<i>pāy-āpe-ti</i> >	<i>pāyāpeti</i>

f). Some verbs have more than one form for the causative:

<i>han-</i>	<i>hanāpeti</i> , <i>ghāteti</i> , <i>ghātāpeti</i>
<i>nas-</i>	<i>nāseti</i> , <i>nāsāpeti</i>
<i>ruh-</i>	<i>ropeti</i> , <i>ropāpeti</i>

g). There are some verbs that in Pali appear only in their causative form:

<i>chādeti</i>	to cover
<i>chaḍḍeti</i>	to spit out
<i>vambheti</i>	to despise

The Desiderative Verbs

91. Formation of the desiderative verbs. In Pali there are a few desiderative verbs derived directly from Sanskrit. They are formed by means of the suffix *-sa* and the reduplication. The vowel of the reduplicating syllable is generally *-i*, but *-a* / *-u* are also found:

<i>pā-</i>	<i>pi-pā-sa-ti</i>	<i>pipāsati</i> / <i>pivāsati</i>	wishes to drink
<i>ji-</i>	<i>ji-gim-sa-ti</i>	<i>jigimsati</i>	desires to conquer
<i>śru-</i>	<i>su-ssu-sa-ti</i>	<i>sussusati</i>	wishes to hear
<i>vac-</i>	<i>va-vac-sa-ti</i>	<i>vavakkhati</i>	wishes to call
<i>tij-</i>	<i>ti-tij-sa-ti</i>	<i>titikkhati</i>	endures
<i>bhuj-</i>	<i>bu-bhuj-sa-ti</i>	<i>bubhukkhati</i>	wishes to eat
<i>cit-</i>	<i>ci-kṛt-sa-ti</i>	<i>cikicchati</i> / <i>tikicchati</i>	cures
<i>vid-</i>	<i>vi-vid-sa-ti</i>	<i>vivicchati</i>	longs for
<i>man-</i>	<i>mī-man-sa-ti</i>	<i>mīmamsati</i> / <i>vimamsati</i>	investigates
<i>gup-</i>	<i>gi-gup-sa-ti</i>	<i>jigucchati</i>	dislikes
<i>ghas-</i>	<i>gi-ghas-sa-ti</i>	<i>jighacchati</i>	wishes to eat
<i>dā-</i>	<i>di-d-sa-ti</i>	<i>dicchati</i>	wishes to give
<i>khyā-</i>	<i>ci-khy-sa-ti</i>	<i>cikkhati</i>	tells
<i>sak-</i>	<i>si-sk-sa-ti</i>	<i>sikkhati</i>	learns

In the last three verbs *dā-*, *khyā-*, *śak-*, the weak grade of the root has been used.

In *mīmamsati* there can be dissimilation: *vimamsati*.

In *cikicchati* the dissimilation is optional; hence both forms are used: *cikicchati* / *tikicchati*.

In *śru-* the vowel of the root is lengthened: *sussūsati*; in *ji-* the vowel is nasalized: *jigimsati*.

In *ji-* and *cit-* the palatal consonant has been changed to the corresponding guttural: *jigimsati*, *cikicchati*.

The Intensive Verbs

92. Formation of the intensive verbs. There are a few intensive verbs formed with the suffix *-a / -ya* added to the root reduplicated in such a way that the reduplicative syllable contains a vowel long either by nature or by position:

<i>kram-</i>	<i>caṇ-kam-a-ti</i>	<i>> caṇkamati</i>	walks up and down
<i>cal-</i>	<i>can-cal-a-ti</i>	<i>> caṇcalati</i>	moves to and fro
<i>lap-</i>	<i>lā-lap-ya-ti</i>	<i>lālappati</i>	talks much
<i>gr-</i>	<i>jā-gar-a-ti</i>	<i>jāgarati</i>	is awake
<i>has-</i>	<i>ja-js-a-ti</i>	<i>jakkhati / jagghati</i>	laughs

The root *has-* appears in its zero grade in the formation of the intensive.

There is another verb *daddaḥati* 'shine' connected directly with the Sanskrit verb *jajvalyati*.

The Denominative Verbs

93. Formation of the denominative verbs. The denominative verbs are formed from nouns, pronouns and adjectives by adding the suffix *-ya / -āya / -īya*.

a). Suffix *-ya*:

<i>namas-ya-ti</i>	<i>> namassati</i>	he reverences
<i>mettā-ya-ti</i>	<i>> mettāyati</i>	he shows love
<i>karuṇā-ya-ti</i>	<i>> karuṇāyati</i>	he feels pity
<i>saṅkā-ya-ti</i>	<i>> saṅkāyati</i>	he is uncertain
<i>dolā-ya-ti</i>	<i>> dolāyati</i>	he swings

b). Suffix *-āya*:

<i>cira-āya-ti</i>	<i>> cirāyati</i>	he delays
<i>piya-āya-ti</i>	<i>> piyāyati</i>	he holds dear

<i>macchara-āya-ti</i>	<i>> maccharāyati</i>	he is jealous
<i>pattiya-āya-ti</i>	<i>> pattiyāyati</i>	he believes
<i>raha-āya-ti</i>	<i>> rahāyati</i>	he is lonely
<i>mama-āya-ti</i>	<i>> mamāyati</i>	he is fond of

c). Suffix *-īya*:

<i>patti-īya-ti</i>	<i>> pattiyaṭi</i>	he gains
<i>atta-īya-ti</i>	<i>> attiyaṭi</i>	he is worried
<i>rasa-īya-ti</i>	<i>> rasiyaṭi</i>	he delights in

d). Special cases:

<i>hiri-</i>	<i>hiriyati / huriyati / harāyati</i>	'he feels ashamed'
<i>dhuma-</i>	<i>dhumāyati / dhūmayati</i>	'he smokes'

e). There are some verbs which, though denominative, show no traces of the denominative suffix:

<i>issa-</i>	<i>issati</i>	he envies
<i>gādha-</i>	<i>gādhati</i>	he stands fast
<i>paripañha-</i>	<i>paripañhati</i>	he questions
<i>maggā-</i>	<i>maggati</i>	he hunts

From *maggati* there is a present participle with the suffix of the denominative: *maggayamāna*.

f). There is still another class of denominative verbs which are usually classified as verbs of the tenth class:

<i>tulā-</i>	<i>tuleti</i>	he weighs
<i>vaṇṇa-</i>	<i>vaṇṇeti</i>	he praises
<i>udāna-</i>	<i>udāneti</i>	he utters
<i>kāma-</i>	<i>kāmeti</i>	he desires
<i>thoma-</i>	<i>thometi</i>	he praises
<i>cunṇa-</i>	<i>cunṇeti</i>	he grinds

These verbs are distinguished from those formed with the suffix -ya, -āya, -iya in so far as they have the stem of the present in -e, and further they are distinguished from the previous ones also in meaning. While those mentioned above are usually intransitive, those which end in -e are usually transitive.

From *sukha-* there is derived:

sukhāyati 'he is pleased' (intransitive)

sukheti / sukhāyati 'he makes happy' (transitive)

g). There is finally another set of denominative verbs derived from onomatopoeic words:

muru-mura- *murumurāyati* he munches

gala-gala- *galagalāyati* thunders

ghuru-ghuru- *ghurughurāyati* he snores

kṛi-kṛi- *kṛikṛilāyati* tinkles

gar-gara- *gaggarāyati* roars

ciṭi-ciṭi- *ciṭiciṭāyati* hisses

cicciṭāyati

taṭa-taṭa- *taṭataṭāyati* rattles

kṛi-kṛi- *kṛiakṛilāyati* tinkles

INDEFINITE VERBAL FORMS

The Present Participle

94. Present participle *parassapada*. The present participle *parassapada* is formed by adding the suffix -nt / -nta to the stem of the present tense.

labha- *labhant / labhanta* obtaining

chinda- *chindant / chindanta* breaking

janā- *jānānt / jānanta* knowing

cintaya- *cintayant / cintayanta* thinking

The participle in -nt: *labhant*, *chindant*, etc. forms the nominative singular dropping the final dental and changing -n to *niggahita*: *labham*, *chindam*

In *janant* the final vowel is shortened since it becomes long by position being followed by a consonant with which it makes syllable: *jānānt* > *jānam*

If the present stem ends in -e / -o, the present participle is formed only with the suffix -nta:

de- *de-nta* > *denta* giving

desc- *desc-nta* > *desenta* preaching

cinte- *cinte-nta* > *cintenta* thinking

sakko- *sakko-nta* > *sakkonta* being able

The stem *karo-* has *karonta*. But there is a participle formed also from a stem *kara-*: *karam* / *karanta*. There is further a genitive plural *kurutam* formed from a present stem *kuru-*.

The root *as-* has *saṃ / santa* 'being'. The present participle is an adjective and is declined like the stem in -nt: *gaccham* / *gacchanto* (masc.), *gacchantam* (neuter), *gacchantī* (femin).

95. Present participle *attanopada*. The present participle *attanopada* is formed with the suffix -māna added to the stem of the present ending in -a:

labha- *labha-māna* > *labhamāna* obtaining

saṃvatta- *saṃvatta-māna* > *saṃvattamāna* evolving

gaṇṇa- *gaṇṇa-māna* > *gaṇṇamāna* going

saṃvijja- *saṃvijja-māna* > *saṃvijjamāna* existing

desiya- *desiya-māna* > *desiyamāna* being preached

kayira- *kayira-māna* > *kayiramāna* being done

vucca- *vucca-māna* > *vuccamāna* being said

The verbs that have the present stem in *-e* form the participle attanopada from the stems in *-aya-*

cinte- / *cintaya-* *cintayamāna* thinking

dese- / *desaya-* *desayamāna* preaching

The stem *se-* has *semāna* / *sayamāna* 'lying down' on the analogy of the verbs of the tenth class.

The verb *karoti* has its present participle attanopada derived from the stems *kara-* / *kuru-*: *karamāna* / *kurumāna* 'doing'.

There are a few present participles attanopada formed with the suffix *-āna* added to the stem of the present and, in some cases, to the root of the verb.

<i>esa-</i>	<i>esāna</i>		seeking
<i>saya-</i>	<i>sayāna</i>		lying down
<i>kubba-</i>	<i>kubbāna</i>		doing
<i>saddaha-</i>	<i>saddahāna</i>		believing
<i>saṅkhara-</i>	<i>saṅkharāna</i>		preparing
<i>ṭhaha-</i>	<i>ṭhahāna</i>	(<i>anuṭṭhahāna</i>)	not getting up
<i>patthaya-</i>	<i>patthayāna</i>		wishing for
<i>dā-</i>	<i>dāna</i>	(<i>anādāna</i>)	not taking
<i>budh-</i>	<i>budhāna</i>	(<i>abhisambudhāna</i>)	attaining the highest wisdom

Further *ās-* has *āsīna* 'sitting down'.

The Past Participle

The past participle is an adjective and is formed with the suffix *-ta* / *-na* added to the root in its weak grade.

96. **Past participle in *-ta*.** The past participle is formed by adding the suffix *-ta*

- to the root directly
- to the root by means of the connecting vowel *-i*
- to the stem of the present by means of the connecting vowel *-i*.

a). The past participle is formed by adding the suffix *-ta* directly to the root in its weak grade:

<i>khyā-</i>	to speak	<i>khāta</i>	(<i>akkhāta</i>)
<i>dā-</i>	to give	<i>dāta</i>	(<i>pariyodāta</i>)
<i>jñā-</i>	to know	<i>ñāta</i> , <i>abhiññāta</i>	
<i>yā-</i>	to go	<i>yāta</i>	
<i>snā-</i>	to bathe	<i>nahāta</i> , <i>nhāta</i> , <i>ninhāta</i>	
<i>i-</i>	to go	<i>īta</i> , <i>vīta</i> , <i>atīta</i> , <i>apeta</i>	
<i>kṛī-</i>	to buy	<i>kīta</i>	
<i>gī-</i>	to sing	<i>gīta</i> , <i>saṅgīta</i>	
<i>ci-</i>	to gather	<i>cīta</i> , <i>apacīta</i> , <i>nicchīta</i>	
<i>ji-</i>	to conquer	<i>jīta</i> , <i>parājīta</i>	
<i>nī-</i>	to lead	<i>nīta</i>	
<i>bhī-</i>	to be afraid	<i>bhīta</i>	
<i>cyu-</i>	to fall	<i>cūta</i>	
<i>śru-</i>	to hear	<i>sūta</i>	
<i>sru-</i>	to flow	<i>sūta</i> in <i>avassuta</i>	
<i>hu-</i>	to sacrifice	<i>hūta</i>	
<i>bhū-</i>	to be	<i>bhūta</i>	
<i>kṛ-</i>	to do	<i>kāta</i> , <i>avakāta</i> , <i>purakkhata</i> , <i>sankhata</i>	

<i>dhṛ-</i>	to hold	<i>dhata, uddhata</i>
<i>bhṛ-</i>	to bear	<i>bhata</i>
<i>mṛ-</i>	to die	<i>mata</i>
<i>smṛ-</i>	to remember	<i>sata, paṭissata</i>
<i>vṛ-</i>	to obstruct	<i>vata (āvata, vivata)</i> <i>vuta (āvuta, samvuta)</i>
<i>ṣṛ-</i>	to flow	<i>sata, osata, nissata</i>
<i>str-</i>	to strew	<i>thata (santhata)</i>
<i>hṛ-</i>	to carry	<i>haṭa, uddhaṭa</i>
<i>vic-</i>	to be alone	<i>vitta (vivitta)</i>
<i>sic-</i>	to sprinkle	<i>sitta</i>
<i>muc-</i>	to release	<i>mutta</i>
<i>prch-</i>	to ask	<i>puṭṭha</i>
<i>tyaj-</i>	to give up	<i>catta, pariccatta</i>
<i>raj-</i>	to dye	<i>ratta</i>
<i>bhuj-</i>	to eat	<i>bhutta</i>
<i>yuj-</i>	to be endowed	<i>yutta</i>
<i>mṛj-</i>	to clean	<i>matṭha</i>
<i>srj-</i>	to let loose	<i>saṭṭha (osaṭṭha, nissatṭha)</i>
<i>vṛt-</i>	to go on	<i>vatta, vivatta, samvatta, vaṭṭa</i>
<i>mad-</i>	to intoxicate	<i>matta</i>
<i>vid-</i>	to enjoy	<i>vitta</i>
<i>badh-</i>	to bind	<i>baddha</i>
<i>kudh-</i>	to be angry	<i>kuddha</i>
<i>budh-</i>	to be awake	<i>buddha</i>
<i>rudh-</i>	to obstruct	<i>ruddha</i>

<i>sudh-</i>	to become clean	<i>suddha</i>
<i>vṛdh-</i>	to grow	<i>vaḍḍha, vaddha, vuddha, vuddha</i>
<i>tap-</i>	to burn	<i>tatta</i>
<i>kṣip-</i>	to throw	<i>khitta</i>
<i>dip-</i>	to kindle	<i>āditta</i>
<i>lip-</i>	to smear	<i>litta</i>
<i>gup-</i>	to protect	<i>gutta</i>
<i>tṛp-</i>	to be satisfied	<i>titta</i>
<i>labh-</i>	to obtain	<i>laddha</i>
<i>stabh-</i>	to be firm	<i>thaddha</i>
<i>lubh-</i>	to be greedy	<i>luddha</i>
<i>śrambh-</i>	to be calm	<i>saddha (passaddha)</i>
<i>śaṃs-</i>	to praise	<i>sattha (pasattha / pasatṭha)</i>
<i>śās-</i>	to order	<i>sittha (anusittha)</i>
<i>daś-</i>	to bite	<i>daṭṭha</i>
<i>viś-</i>	to enter	<i>viṭṭha (niviṭṭha, pavitṭha)</i>
<i>kliś-</i>	to be soiled	<i>kilutṭha</i>
<i>dṛś-</i>	to see	<i>ditṭha</i>
<i>duṣ-</i>	to be soiled	<i>duṭṭha</i>
<i>spṛś-</i>	to touch	<i>phutṭha</i>
<i>iś-</i>	to desire	<i>itṭha</i>
<i>kruś-</i>	to blame	<i>kuṭṭha (patikkuttha)</i>
<i>tuṣ-</i>	to be pleased	<i>tutṭha</i>
<i>puṣ-</i>	to touch	<i>puṭṭha</i>
<i>kṛṣ-</i>	to plough	<i>kaṭṭha</i>
<i>vṛs-</i>	to rain	<i>vaṭṭha</i>

<i>mrs-</i>	to forget	<i>muttha</i>
<i>duh-</i>	to milk	<i>duḍḍha</i>
<i>nah-</i>	to tie	<i>naddha, onaddha</i>
<i>ḍah-</i>	to burn	<i>daḍḍha</i>
<i>gah-</i>	to plunge	<i>gaḷha (ajjhogāḷha)</i>
<i>muh-</i>	to be bewildered	<i>mūḷha</i>
<i>ruh-</i>	to climb	<i>rūḷha, parūḷha</i>
<i>kram-</i>	to move	<i>kanta (atikkanta, abhikkanta)</i>
<i>klam-</i>	to be weary	<i>kilanta</i>
<i>vam-</i>	to throw out	<i>vanta</i>
<i>śram-</i>	to be calm	<i>santa</i>

The past participle *pāruta* comes from *apa-ā-vr-* in which *vr-* has given rise to *-ru* and the initial vowel has been dropped: *pāruta*. The present tense of this verb is *pārupati*.

- b) Some roots ending in *-m* / *-n* are weakened in the formation of the past participle:

<i>gam-</i>	to go	<i>gata</i>
<i>nam-</i>	to bend	<i>nata</i>
<i>yam-</i>	to restrain	<i>yata, saññata</i>
<i>ram-</i>	to delight	<i>rata</i>
<i>han-</i>	to kill	<i>hata, samūhata</i>
<i>man-</i>	to think	<i>mata</i>
<i>khan-</i>	to dig	<i>khāta</i>
<i>jan-</i>	to bear	<i>jāta</i>

- c) Roots that contain a sonant *-y* / *-v* preceding the root vowel are also weakened in the formation of the past participle. The formation is as follows: the root *vac-* is weakened by dropping the vowel *-a*, hence *vc-* the sonant *-v*

becomes a vowel when followed by a consonant, hence *uc*: *uc-ta* > *utta*. But since in Pali a word beginning with *u-* is often pronounced with a preceding *v-*, hence *utta* > *vutta*. The same is the formation when the root contains a vowel preceded by *y-*.

<i>yaj-</i>	to sacrifice	<i>ij-ta</i>	> <i>iṭṭha</i>	> <i>yiṭṭha</i>
<i>vac-</i>	to speak	<i>uc-ta</i>	> <i>utta</i>	> <i>vutta</i>
<i>vap-</i>	to sow	<i>up-ta</i>	> <i>utta</i>	> <i>vutta</i>
<i>vas-</i>	to dwell	<i>us-ta</i>	> <i>uttha</i>	> <i>vuttha</i>
<i>vah-</i>	to carry	<i>uh-ta</i>	> <i>ūḷha</i>	> <i>vūḷha</i>
<i>vyadh-</i>	to pierce	<i>vidh-ta</i>	> <i>viddha</i>	
<i>svap-</i>	to sleep	<i>sup-ta</i>	> <i>sutta</i>	

- d) Some roots form the past participle by means of the suffix *-ta* added with the connecting vowel *-i* / *-ī* to their weak form:

<i>dhā-</i>	to place	<i>h-i-ta</i>	> <i>hita, ohita</i> with the loss of the occlusion
<i>pā-</i>	to drink	<i>p-i-ta</i>	> <i>pita</i>
<i>mā-</i>	to measure	<i>m-i-ta</i>	> <i>mita</i>
<i>vā-</i>	to weave	<i>v-i-ta</i>	> <i>vita</i>
<i>sā-</i>	to bind	<i>s-i-ta</i>	> <i>sita</i>
<i>sthā-</i>	to stand	<i>ṭh-i-ta</i>	> <i>ṭhita</i>
<i>vad-</i>	to speak	<i>ud-i-ta</i>	> <i>udita</i>
<i>vas-</i>	to dwell	<i>us-i-ta</i>	> <i>usita</i> > <i>vusita</i>
<i>grah-</i>	to take	<i>gah-ī-ta</i>	> <i>gahita</i>
<i>id-</i>	to know	<i>vid-i-ta</i>	> <i>vidita</i>
<i>kup-</i>	to be annoyed	<i>kup-i-ta</i>	> <i>kupita</i>
<i>mud-</i>	to rejoice	<i>mud-i-ta</i>	> <i>mudita</i>

e). The past participle can be formed also with the suffix *-ta* added to the stem of the present by means of the connecting vowel *-i*. In the older literature this participle is formed from the verbs of the tenth class, from causative, intensive and desiderative verbs, and from some simple verbs, especially those in which the present stem ends in two consonants or in a consonant preceded by a long vowel. In some cases it is difficult to distinguish whether the past participle is formed from the root or from the present stem since the two coincide as in *pat-i-ta* > *patita*.

In the later literature every verb can take this participle since this becomes the easiest way of forming it. The final vowel of the stem of the present is dropped

<i>yāca-</i>	to ask	<i>yāc-i-ta</i>	>	<i>yācita</i>
<i>nanda-</i>	to rejoice	<i>nand-i-ta</i>	>	<i>nandita</i>
<i>pasamsa-</i>	to praise	<i>pasams-i-ta</i>	>	<i>pasamsita</i>
<i>rakkha-</i>	to protect	<i>rakkh-i-ta</i>	>	<i>rakkhita</i>
<i>sikkha-</i>	to learn	<i>sikkh-i-ta</i>	>	<i>sikkhita</i>
<i>dese-</i>	to preach	<i>des-i-ta</i>	>	<i>desita</i>
<i>pūje-</i>	to honour	<i>pūj-i-ta</i>	>	<i>pūjita</i>
<i>vanne-</i>	to praise	<i>vann-i-ta</i>	>	<i>vannita</i>

There are a few cases in which the past participle has been formed from the stem of the present in *-aya*:

<i>vedaya-</i>	to feel	<i>vedayita</i>
<i>khādaya-</i>	to cause to eat	<i>khādayita</i>
<i>patthaya-</i>	to desire	<i>patthayita</i>

Further, some causative verbs do not add the vowel *-i*:

<i>paññāpeti</i>	<i>paññāp-ta</i>	>	<i>paññatta, saññatta</i>
<i>anāpesi</i>	<i>anāp-ta</i>	>	<i>ānatta</i>

jhāpeti *jhāp-ta* > *jhāta*

khameti *kanta*

dāmeti *danta*

97. Past participle in *-na*. The past participle can also be formed by adding the suffix *-na* to the root of the verb. This past participle is formed from

a). roots ending in *-ī, -ū, ṛ*:

<i>li-</i>	to stick	<i>līna</i>
<i>ksī-</i>	to waste away	<i>khīna</i>
<i>lū-</i>	to cut	<i>lūna</i>
<i>kṛ-</i>	to scatter	<i>kṛ-na</i> > <i>kiṇṇa</i>
<i>jṛ-</i>	to become old	<i>jṛ-na</i> > <i>jiṇṇa</i>
<i>tṛ-</i>	to cross	<i>tṛ-na</i> > <i>tiṇṇa</i>
<i>pṛ-</i>	to be filled	<i>pṛ-na</i> > <i>puṇṇa</i>

The root *car-* has also a past participle in *-na*: *cir-na* > *ciṇṇa*, *anuciṇṇa*, *āciṇṇa*.

b). some roots ending in *-d*:

<i>chad-</i>	to cover	<i>channa</i>
<i>pad-</i>	to go	<i>panna, uppanna, sampanna</i>
<i>sad-</i>	to sit	<i>pasanna</i> but <i>nisinna</i>
<i>syad-</i>	to flow	<i>sanna</i> (<i>ussanna</i>)
<i>skand-</i>	to jump	<i>khanna</i> (<i>pakkhanna</i>)
<i>chid-</i>	to cut	<i>chinna</i>
<i>bhid-</i>	to break	<i>bhinna</i>
<i>nud-</i>	to push	<i>nunna, nunna, panunṇa</i>
<i>tud-</i>	to prick	<i>tunna</i>

rud-	to cry	runna
svid-	to perspire	sinna

c). some roots in -g / -j:

lag-	to adhere	lag-na	> lagga
bhaj-	to break	bhaj-na	> bhag-na > bhagga
samvij-	to be agitated	samvij-na	> samvig-na > samvigga
nimuj-	to sink down	nimuj-na	> nimug-na > nimugga
luj-	to crumble	paluj-na	> palug-na > palugga

d). The root *muc-* has also a past participle in -na: *muc-na* > *muk-na* > *mukka*.

The root *hā-* has the past participle in -na with the connecting vowel -i: *h-i-na* > *hina*.

The root *dā-* has *dinna* formed from the a reduplicated weakened root, the reduplication being effected with the vowel -i: *did-na* > *dinna*, *samādinna*.

98. From the examples given it is clear that some verbal roots have more than one participle: *car-*: *carita* / *ciṇṇa*; *hā-*: *hina* / *jahita*; *rud-*: *ruṇṇa* / *rudita* / *rodita*.

Sometimes the various participles are semantically different. The root *svid-*: *sinna* 'wet with perspiration', *siddha* 'cooked'.

Past Participle Active

99. In Pali there are a few forms of the active past participle. This is formed by adding the suffix -vant / -āvin to the past participle:

<i>vuṣita</i>	<i>vuṣitavant</i>	one who has lived
<i>bhutta</i>	<i>bhuttāvin</i>	one who has eaten

<i>vijita</i>	<i>vijitāvin</i>	one who has conquered
<i>samita</i>	<i>samitāvin</i>	one who is calm

These participles are declined like the stem in -ant / -in.

There are also some other stray forms belonging to this participle. *vidū*, *vidvā*, *viddasu*, *dassivā*, *dassāvī*

Future Participle Passive

100. Formation of the future participle passive. The future participle passive is formed

a). by adding to the root in its guṇa grade one of the suffixes

1. -tabba
2. -aniya / -aneyya
3. -tāya / -tayya / -teyya

b). by adding to the root in its guṇa grade the suffix -ya either directly or by means of the connecting vowel -i;

c). by adding the suffix -tabba to the stem of the present tense by means of the connecting vowel -i.

a). 1.	<i>jñā-</i>	to know	<i>ñātabba</i>
	<i>dā-</i>	to give	<i>dātabba</i>
	<i>hā-</i>	to abandon	<i>hātabba</i>
	<i>nī-</i>	to lead	<i>netabba</i>
	<i>ji-</i>	to conquer	<i>jetabba</i>
	<i>bhū-</i>	to be	<i>hotabba</i> , <i>paribhotabba</i>
	<i>śru-</i>	to hear	<i>sotabba</i>
	<i>kṛ-</i>	to do	<i>kar-tabba</i> > <i>kattabba</i> , <i>kātabba</i>

	<i>hr-</i>	to carry	<i>har-tabba</i> > <i>hattabba</i> , <i>hātabba</i>
	<i>gam-</i>	to go	<i>gantabba</i>
	<i>han-</i>	to kill	<i>hantabba</i>
	<i>labh-</i>	to obtain	<i>labh-tabba</i> > <i>laddhabba</i>
	<i>drś-</i>	to see	<i>dars-tabba</i> > <i>daṭṭhabba</i>
	<i>vas-</i>	to live	<i>vas-tabba</i> > <i>vatthabba</i>
	<i>sprś-</i>	to touch	has <i>phoṭṭhabba</i> ,
	<i>grah-</i>	to take	has <i>gahetabba</i>
a). 2.	<i>gam-</i>	to go	<i>gamaniya</i> (<i>adhigamaniya</i>)
	<i>bhū-</i>	to be	<i>bhavaniya</i>
	<i>lubh-</i>	to covet	<i>lobhaniya</i> (<i>lobhaneyya</i>)
	<i>kr-</i>	to do	<i>karaniya</i>
	<i>drś-</i>	to see	<i>dars-aniya</i> > <i>dassaniya</i> / <i>dassaneyya</i>
	<i>pūj-</i>	to reverence	<i>pūjaniya</i>
a). 3.	Only a few verbs have the future participle passive in <i>-taya</i> , <i>-tāya</i> , <i>-teyya</i> :		
	<i>jñā-</i>	to know	<i>jñātaya</i> / <i>nāteyya</i>
	<i>drś-</i>	to see	<i>dars-taya</i> > <i>daṭṭhāya</i>
	<i>āp-</i>	to reach	<i>pattāyya</i> / <i>patteyya</i>

Similarly: *ghātetayam*, *jāpetayam*, *pabbājetayam* (MN II p. 122)

- b). The future participle passive is also formed with the suffix *-ya* added to the root in its guna grade either directly or by means of the connecting vowel *-i*:

<i>bhū-</i>	to be	<i>bhav-ya</i> > <i>bhabba</i>
<i>han-</i>	to kill	<i>han-ya</i> > <i>hañña</i>

<i>bhid-</i>	to break	<i>bhed-ya</i> > <i>bhejja</i>
<i>bhuj-</i>	to eat	<i>bhoj-ya</i> > <i>bhojja</i>
<i>ji-</i>	to conquer	<i>je-ya</i> > <i>jeyya</i>
<i>ni-</i>	to lead	<i>ne-ya</i> > <i>neyya</i> , <i>upaniya</i>

The vowel of the root has remained unchanged in *guh-ya* > *guyha*

The suffix *-ya* is added with the connected vowel *-i* when the root ends in two consonants:

<i>rakṣ-</i>	to protect	<i>rakkh-i-ya</i> > <i>rakkhiya</i>
<i>kamp-</i>	to shake	<i>kamp-i-ya</i> > <i>kampiya</i>
<i>sank-</i>	to doubt	<i>sank-i-ya</i> > <i>saṅkiya</i>

The suffix *-ya* is also added to some verbs in *-ā*. In this case the final vowel *-ā* is contracted with *-i* and then the following *-y* is doubled:

<i>dā-</i>	to vie	<i>dā-i-ya</i> > <i>de-ya</i> > <i>deyya</i>
<i>dhā-</i>	to place	<i>dhā-i-ya</i> > <i>dhe-ya</i> > <i>dheyya</i>
<i>jñā-</i>	to know	<i>jñā-i-ya</i> > <i>ñe-ya</i> > <i>ñeyya</i>
<i>mā-</i>	to measure	<i>mā-i-ya</i> > <i>me-ya</i> > <i>meyya</i>
<i>pā-</i>	to drink'	<i>pā-i-ya</i> > <i>pe-ya</i> > <i>peyya</i>

Since *lih-* 'to lick' was sometimes opposed to *pā-* 'to drink', a future participle passive has been formed from *lih-* on the analogy of *peyya* : *leyya*

Further from the stem of the present *sakkuna-* there is *sakkuneyya*.

The root *kr-* has a future participle passive with the insertion of *-t*. *kr-t-ya* > *kicca*

In a few cases the vowel *-a* of the first syllable is lengthened whether the vowel belongs to the root or to a prefix.

<i>kar-</i>	to do	<i>kār-i-ya</i>	> <i>kāriya</i> (<i>akāriya</i>)
<i>hṛ-</i>	to carry	<i>hār-i-ya</i>	> <i>hāriya</i> (<i>asamhāriya</i>)
<i>garh-</i>	to blame	<i>garah-ya</i>	> <i>gārayha</i>
<i>prāsaṃs-</i>	to praise	<i>prāsaṃs-ya</i>	> <i>pāsaṃsa</i>
<i>pratikaṅks-</i>	to wish for	<i>pātikhaṅk-ya</i>	> <i>pātikaṅkha</i>

In the future participle passive of *tikicchati*, the vowel of the first syllable is lengthened: *tekiccha*

From the root *hṛ-* there is *hāriya* in the compound *asamhāriya*. There is also the form *asamhira* derived from the passive stem: *asam-hir-ya* > *asamhirra* > *asamhira*.

- c). The future participle passive is formed with the suffix *-tabba* added to the stem of the present with the connecting vowel *-i-*:

<i>garaha-</i>	to blame	<i>garahitabba</i>
<i>puccha-</i>	to ask	<i>pucchitabba</i>
<i>nacca-</i>	to dance	<i>naccitabba</i>
<i>pūjaya-</i>	to reverence	<i>pūjayitabba</i>

Besides *pūjayitabba* there is also *pūjetabba* in which the group *-ayi* is contracted to *-e*. Similarly *codetabba*, *ñāpetabba*, *ṭhāpetabba*, *ropetabba*, etc.

P a s t G e r u n d

101. Formation of the past gerund. The past gerund is an indeclinable word and is formed by adding the suffix

- tvā* to the root
- tvā* to the root by means of the connecting vowel *-i-*
- tvā* to the stem of the present by means of the connecting vowel *-i-*

- ya* to the root of compound verbs
- ya* to the stem of the present of compound verbs
- tvāna* / *-tuna* / *-yāna*

- a). The suffix *-tvā* added to the root:

<i>dā-</i>	to give	<i>datvā</i>
<i>jñā-</i>	to know	<i>ñatvā</i>
<i>snā-</i>	to bathe	<i>nahatvā</i>
<i>bhū-</i>	to be	<i>bhutvā</i> / <i>huvā</i>
<i>śru-</i>	to hear	<i>sutvā</i>
<i>kr-</i>	to do	<i>katvā</i>
<i>han-</i>	to kill	<i>hantvā</i>
<i>gam-</i>	to go	<i>gantvā</i>
<i>vac-</i>	to speak	<i>vac-tvā</i> > <i>vatvā</i>
<i>muc-</i>	to release	<i>muc-tvā</i> > <i>mutvā</i>
<i>labh-</i>	to obtain	<i>labh-tvā</i> > <i>laddhā</i>

Some roots containing the vowel *-i* / *-ī* / *-u* change their vowel to *-e* / *-o* respectively in the formation of the past gerunds:

<i>ji-</i>	to conquer	<i>jetvā</i>
<i>nī-</i>	to lead	<i>netvā</i>
<i>chid-</i>	to cut	<i>chetvā</i>
<i>bhid-</i>	to break	<i>bhetvā</i>
<i>bhuj-</i>	to eat	<i>bhutvā</i> / <i>bhotvā</i>

The root *ḍṣ-* has *ḍisvā*. Other extremely rare forms derived from *ḍṣ-* are *datthā*, *a-ditthā*, *dattha*.

- the suffix *-tvā* added to the root by means of the connecting vowel *-i-*:

<i>hā-</i>	to abandon	<i>h-i-tvā</i> > <i>hitvā</i>
<i>pā-</i>	to drink	<i>p-i-tvā</i> > <i>pitvā</i>
<i>grah-</i>	to take	<i>grah-i-tvā</i> > <i>gahitvā</i> / <i>gahetvā</i>
<i>vid-</i>	to know	<i>vid-i-tvā</i> > <i>viditvā</i>

c). The suffix *-tvā* added to the stem of the present by means of the connecting vowel *-i-*:

<i>gaccha-</i>	to go	<i>gacchitvā</i>
<i>gaphā-</i>	to take	<i>gaphitvā</i>
<i>suñca-</i>	to sprinkle	<i>suñcivā</i>
<i>suñā-</i>	to hear	<i>suñitvā</i>

The verbs of the tenth class and the causative verbs form the past gerund always from the stem of the present with the vowel *-i-*:

<i>cintaya-</i>	to think	<i>cintayitvā</i>
<i>āmantaya-</i>	to call	<i>āmantayitvā</i>
<i>kāraya-</i>	to cause to do	<i>kārayitvā</i>
<i>māpaya-</i>	to cause to build	<i>māpayitvā</i>

The group *-ayi-*, which precedes the suffix *-tvā*, may be contracted to *-e*; *cintetvā*, *āmantetvā*, *kāretvā*, *māpetvā*.

d). When a verb is compounded with a prefix, the past gerund is formed by adding the suffix *-ya* to the root of the verbs:

1. The suffix *-ya* added directly to the root:

<i>ā-dā</i>	to take	<i>ādāya</i>
<i>a-gam-</i>	to return	<i>āgam-ya</i> > <i>āgamma</i>
<i>ā-rabh-</i>	to begin	<i>ārabh-ya</i> > <i>ārabbha</i>
<i>ni-sad-</i>	to sit down	<i>nisad-ya</i> > <i>nisajja</i>
<i>o-ruh-</i>	to come down	<i>oruh-ya</i> > <i>oruyha</i>
<i>sañ-cit-</i>	to consider	<i>sañcit-ya</i> > <i>sañcicca</i>

In some of these gerunds the final group *-āya* is sometimes contracted to *-ā*: *abhiññaya* / *abhiññā*, *upādāya* / *upadā*.

2. When a root ends in *-i* / *-ī*, this *-i* / *-ī* is changed to *-e* and the following *-y* is doubled:

<i>vi-ci-</i>	to investigate	<i>vici-ya</i> > <i>viceyya</i>
<i>vi-ni-</i>	to remove	<i>vinī-ya</i> > <i>vineyya</i>

The root *bhū-* shortens the final vowel and doubles the *-y*. *abhibhū-ya* *abhibhuyya*. On the same pattern seems to be built the past gerund *pappuyya* < *pra-āp*.

3. When the root ends in a short vowel, the consonant *-t* is inserted between the root and the suffix *-ya*.

<i>pari-i-</i>	to set out	<i>pari-i-t-ya</i> > <i>paricca</i>
<i>prati-i-</i>	to go back	<i>paṭi-i-t-ya</i> > <i>paṭicca</i>
<i>pra-i-</i>	to go beyond	<i>pra-i-t-ya</i> > <i>pecca</i>
<i>ava-i-</i>	to go down	<i>ava-i-t-ya</i> > <i>avecca</i>
<i>sat-kr-</i>	to honour	<i>sat-kr-t-ya</i> > <i>sakkacca</i> , <i>patikacca</i>
<i>ā-han-</i>	to strike	<i>ā-ha-t-ya</i> > <i>āhacca</i>
<i>ā-hr-</i>	to carry	<i>ā-hr-t-ya</i> > <i>āhacca</i>

Sometimes the guttural of *patikacca* is softened; hence *paṭigacca*.

e). The suffix *-ya* may also be added to the stem of the present by means of the connecting vowel *-i-*. This is usually the case when it is question of the verbs of the tenth class or of the causative verbs and also of the verbs in which the stem of the present tense ends in two consonants, or in a consonant preceded by a long vowel, or in an *-r* / *-h*:

<i>padāle-</i>	to pierce	<i>padal-ya</i> > <i>padāliya</i>
<i>virāje-</i>	to put away	<i>virāj-ya</i> > <i>virājiya</i>
<i>nisida-</i>	to sit	<i>nisid-ya</i> > <i>nisīdiya</i>

<i>pakira-</i>	to scatter	<i>pakir-ya</i>	> <i>pakiriya</i>
<i>abhiruha-</i>	to mount	<i>abhiruh-ya</i>	> <i>abhiruyha</i>

Vitarati forms a past gerund from the present stem *vitareyya* on the analogy of the past gerund like *vineyya*, *viceyya*.

- f) There are three other suffixes that are used to form the past gerund. These are generally found in poetry. The suffixes are *-tvāna*, *-tūna*, *-yāna*: *gantvāna* / *gantūna*, *katvāna* / *kātūna*, *bhūtvāna*, *hutvāna*, *laddhāna*, *ñatvāna*, *hātūna*, *jānitūna*, *uttariyāna* < *uttarati*, *ovariyāna* < *ovarati*, *ovadiyāna* < *ovadati*.
- g) The distinction between the simple and the compound verbs is not always observed in the formation of the past gerund, and hence simple verbs sometimes take the suffix *-ya*, while compound verbs very often take the suffix *-tvā*:

<i>jñā-</i>	<i>ñāya</i>	<i>pra-āp-</i>	<i>patvā</i> , <i>pāpuṇitvā</i>
<i>cint-</i>	<i>cintiya</i>	<i>nisida-</i>	<i>nisiditvā</i>
<i>bhas-</i>	<i>bhāsiya</i>	<i>virāje-</i>	<i>virājetvā</i>
<i>bhuñj-</i>	<i>bhuñjiya</i>	<i>upasankam-</i>	<i>upasaṅkamtivā</i>
<i>chadde-</i>	<i>chaddiya</i>	<i>sandhāva-</i>	<i>sandhāvitvā</i>

- h) There are several gerunds formed from the stem of the present of passive verbs both simple and compounded:

<i>chijja-</i>	<i>chijjivā</i>	<i>pacca-</i>	<i>paccitvā</i>
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Infinitive

102. Formation of the infinitive. The infinitive is formed

- by means of the suffix *-tum*
 - added directly to the root in its guṇa grade
 - added to the stem of the present by means of the connecting vowel *-i*
 - added directly to the present stem in *-e* / *-o*.

- by means of the suffixes *-tave*, *-tuye*, *-tāye*, *-tase* added to the root in its guṇa grade or to the present stem with the connecting vowel *-i*.

1. The suffix *-tum* added directly to the root in its guṇa grade:

<i>dā-</i>	to give	<i>dātum</i>	
<i>jñā-</i>	to know	<i>ñātum</i>	
<i>nī-</i>	to lead	<i>netum</i>	
<i>kri-</i>	to buy	<i>ketum</i>	(<i>vikketum</i>)
<i>śru-</i>	to hear	<i>sotum</i>	
<i>bhū-</i>	to be	<i>hotum</i>	
<i>kr-</i>	to do	<i>kartum</i>	> <i>kattum</i> / <i>kātum</i>
<i>hr-</i>	to carry	<i>hartum</i>	> <i>hattum</i> / <i>hātum</i>
<i>gam-</i>	to go	<i>gantum</i>	
<i>prech-</i>	to ask	<i>putthum</i>	
<i>drś-</i>	to see	<i>daṭṭhum</i>	
<i>yaj-</i>	to sacrifice	<i>yatthum</i>	
<i>vas-</i>	to dwell	<i>vatthum</i>	

The infinitive of *grah-* is *gahetum*.

2. The suffix *-tum* added to the present stem with the vowel

-i:

<i>bhava-</i>	to be	<i>bhavitum</i>
<i>puccha-</i>	to ask	<i>pucchitum</i>
<i>pāpuṇā-</i>	to reach	<i>pāpuṇitum</i>
<i>passa-</i>	to see	<i>passitum</i>

3. The suffix *-tum* added to the present stem in *-e* / *-o*

<i>cinte-</i>	to think	<i>cintetum</i>
<i>dese-</i>	to preach	<i>desetum</i>
<i>sodhe-</i>	to clean	<i>sodhetum</i>
<i>pappo-</i>	to reach	<i>pappotum</i>

b). Suffixes *-tave*, *-tuye*, *-tāye*, *-tase* are used in a few cases only

<i>hā-</i>	to abandon	<i>hātave</i> (<i>pahātave</i>)
<i>i-</i>	to go	<i>etave</i> / <i>etase</i>
<i>nī-</i>	to lead	<i>netave</i>
<i>śru-</i>	to hear	<i>sotave</i>
<i>gam-</i>	to go	<i>gantave</i>
<i>hī-</i>	to carry	<i>hatave</i>
<i>bhū-</i>	to be	<i>havituye</i> / <i>hetuye</i>
<i>mī-</i>	to die	<i>marituye</i>
<i>dṛś-</i>	to see	<i>dakkhitāye</i>
<i>prcch-</i>	to ask	<i>pucchitāye</i>

CHAPTER VII

INDECLINABLE WORDS

The indeclinable words are the adverbs, the prepositions, the conjunctions, and the interjections.

103 **Adverbs.** An adverb is a word which modifies the meaning or the application of a verb or of a whole sentence. The adverbs may be divided according to their meaning and according to the way they are built up.

a). According to their meaning the adverbs may be divided into:

1. **Adverbs of time:** *yadā* 'when', *kadā* 'when', *tadā* 'then', *yato* 'since', *tato* 'afterwards', *ito* 'from now', *yāva* 'how long', *tāva* 'so long', *ajja* 'today', *ajjato* 'from today', *adhunā* 'lately', *aparajju* 'on the following day', *pāto* 'early', *atippago* 'too early', *divā* 'by day', *ratto* 'by night', *atha* 'then', *puna* 'again', *etarahi* 'now', *carahi* 'now', *pure* 'formerly', *bhūtapubbam* 'formerly', *anupubbam* 'gradually', *cirarattāya* 'for a long time', *cirassam* 'for a long time', *kadāci kadāci* 'from time to time', *kadāci karahaci* 'at times', *puna ca param* 'again', *ekam samayam* 'at one time', *aparena* 'in future', *aparāparam* 'again and again', *antarantarā* 'from time to time', etc.

2. Adverbs of place: *tatra*, *tattha*, *tahim*, *taham* 'there', *tato* 'thence', *kutra*, *kuttha*, *kuhim* 'where', *kuto* 'whence', *yattha* 'where', *uddham* 'above', *adho* 'below', *tiriyam* 'across', *sabbadhi* 'everywhere', *idha* 'here', *purato* 'in front', *hetthā* 'below', *piṭṭhito* 'behind', *aññatra*, *annattha* 'somewhere else', *ubhayattha* 'in both places', *amutra* 'in that place', *pacīnato* 'to the east', *dakkhinato* 'to the south', *abhito* 'all round', etc.

3. Adverbs of manner: *evam*, *tathā* 'thus', *katham* 'how', *yathā* 'as', *sahasā* 'hastily', *siḥham* 'quickly', *vegena*, *vegasā* 'hurriedly', *sapheṇa* 'softly', *anupubbena* 'gradually', *addhā* 'certainly', *sukham* 'happily', *sakkaccam* 'respectfully', *musā* 'falsely', *abhiḥkhanam* 'constantly', *tuṇhi* 'silently', *sajju*, *sajjukam* 'quickly', *sādhukam* 'well', etc.

4. Adverbs of quantity, extent, degree: *atīva*, *atīviya* 'excessively', *yāva* 'how much', *tāva* 'so much', *yāvata* 'as far as', *tāvata* 'so far', *ettāvata* 'to such an extent', *yebhuyyena* 'generally', *tikkhattum* 'three times', *pañcaso* 'in five ways', *catuggunam* 'fourfold', *antamaso* 'even', *bhiyyoso* 'greatly', *mattaso* 'moderately', *aññadatthu* 'surely', etc.

5. Adverbs of cause or reason: *tena*, *tena hi* 'hence', *tasmā* 'therefore', *kasmā* 'why', *yathā* 'thus', *yato*, *tato* 'hence', *tato nidānam*, *yatvādhikaranam* 'on account of that', *yathā katham pana* 'how indeed', etc.

6. Other adverbial particles: *anga*, *api* 'indeed', *kira* 'indeed', *kho* 'then', *iti* 'thus', *alam* 'enough', *nāma* 'indeed', *ingha* 'well', *taggha* 'surely', *yagghe* 'surely', *pana* 'indeed', *attha* 'then', etc.

104. Formation of adverbs: The adverbs may be formed in various ways:

a). Adverbs formed from the pronouns. Many adverbs are formed by adding an adverbial ending to the stem of the pronouns or of pronominal adjectives:

-tra.	<i>tatra</i> , <i>kutra</i> , <i>yatra</i> , <i>atra</i> , <i>aññatra</i>
-ttha.	<i>tattha</i> , <i>yattha</i> , <i>kuttha</i> , <i>ittha</i> , <i>ettha</i> , <i>kattha</i> , <i>aññattha</i> , <i>ubhayattha</i>
-to.	<i>ito</i> , <i>tato</i> , <i>yato</i> , <i>kuto</i> , <i>sabbato</i> , <i>etto</i>
-tham.	<i>yatham</i> , <i>katham</i> , <i>ittham</i>
-thā.	<i>yathā</i> , <i>tathā</i> , <i>kathā</i> , <i>aññathā</i> , <i>sabbathā</i>
-dā.	<i>tadā</i> , <i>yadā</i> , <i>kadā</i> , <i>kudā</i> , <i>sabbada</i>
-dāni.	<i>idāni</i>
-dha.	<i>idha</i>
-ha.	<i>iha</i>
-dhi.	<i>sabbadhi</i>
-rahi.	<i>etarahi</i> , <i>tarahi</i> , <i>carahi</i>
-hum.	<i>kuhim</i> , <i>tahim</i>
-ham.	<i>taham</i>

Ku- is an alternative stem of ka-

b). Adverbs formed from nouns and adjectives.

-to.	<i>dakkhinato</i>
-so.	<i>bhāgaso</i> , <i>yoniso</i> , <i>sahasō</i> , <i>bhiyyoso</i> , <i>pañcaso</i>
-dhā.	<i>ekadhā</i> , <i>pañcadhā</i>
-khattum.	<i>tikkhattum</i>

c). Nouns, pronouns, adjectives used adverbially. Nouns, pronouns and adjectives may be used adverbially in the accusative case, and sometimes also in another case.

Accusative case:	<i>sukham</i> , <i>dukkham</i> , <i>siḥham</i> , <i>sanikam</i> , <i>kānam</i> , <i>cīram</i> , <i>pubbam</i>
Instrumental case:	<i>vegena</i> , <i>aggena</i> , <i>dhammena</i> , <i>kicchena</i> , <i>kasirena</i> , <i>kālena</i> , <i>anupubbena</i> , <i>vegasā</i> , <i>tena</i> , <i>cirena</i> , <i>yāvata</i> , <i>tāvata</i> , <i>ettāvata</i>

Ablative case:	<i>tas mā, purā, antarā, pacchā</i>
Dative case:	<i>cirāya, svātanāya, ajjhātanāya</i>
Genitive case:	<i>cirassa, divassa, kālassa</i>
Locative case:	<i>dhūre, avidhūre, agge, pubbe, antare, pure</i>

The adverbs *divā, ratto* are derived directly from Sanskrit and are an instrumental and a locative case respectively.

From the genitive *cirassa* a new adverb has been formed with the accusative neuter ending: *cirassam*.

- d). Other adverbs. Some other adverbs, which in Pali appear as indeclinable words, are old stems of case forms of nouns or adjectives.

pāto, anto, adho

tiro, paro, pure, sve, sajju

bahu, āvi

pātu, pātur

105. **Prepositions.** In Pali the prepositions have practically disappeared. There are only a few rare cases in which *anu, pati, adhi* are used preceded or followed by an accusative.

The absence of true prepositions in Pali is made good in various ways:

- a) Many adverbs are used prepositionally. The most common are:

governing the accusative:	<i>antarā, pacchā, yāva, vinā, samantā</i>
governing the instrumental:	<i>aññatra, vinā, saddhim, saha</i>
governing the genitive:	<i>hetthā, antarena, upari, pure, samantato, avidhūre</i>
governing the ablative:	<i>ārā, ārakā, uddham, oram, pabhuti, param, pacchā, yāva, adho.</i>

- b). Several nouns indicating time, place, cause, manner, are used in the sense of prepositions with the noun they govern in the genitive case or forming with them a *tappurisa samāsa*: *saṁīpa, saṁtika, sakasa, kāla, ākara, sammukhā, abhimukhā, hetu, nidānam, vasena, atthāya, accayena*, etc

- c). Several past gerunds are also used as prepositions

<i>ādāya, gahetvā</i>	taking, with
<i>anvāya, upādāya, paṭicca, agamma</i>	on account of, because
<i>muñcitvā, muñciya, ṭhapetvā</i>	leaving, except, besides
<i>ārabha, sandhāya, abisandhāya</i>	beginning with, referring to
<i>niṣṣāya, upaniṣṣāya</i>	near, by means of, on account of
<i>paṭṭhāya</i>	from
<i>uddissa</i>	with respect to, for the sake of

Of these past gerunds, *paṭṭhāya* governs the ablative case, all the others govern the accusative case.

- d). Sometimes even other verbal forms express the idea that would be expressed by a preposition: *sahita* 'with', *sampanna* 'with', *gata* 'regarding', *sampassamāna* 'for the sake of'.

106. **Conjunctions.** A conjunction is a word used to point out the relation that exists between two notions expressed by two or more nouns or adjectives or pronouns or verbs or adverbs or sentences. The conjunction may be co-ordinative or subordinative

- a). Co-ordinative conjunctions: *ca, udahu, atha, vā, tathapi, vā...vā, api...api*.
- b). Subordinative conjunctions: *sace, ce, yadi, yathā, yatra hi nama, vā yadi vā*

107. **Interjections.** Interjections are words indicating feelings of joy, sadness, anger, or words used to call the attention of someone: *aho, je, re, dhi, ingha, he, aho nūna, aho vata, yagghe, taggha, ambho.*

As interjections are also used *maññe, bhāṇe* 'I think' and 'I say' (first person attanopada of the present indicative).

CHAPTER VIII

DERIVATION OF NOUNS

108. **Derivation.** In a grammatical form we distinguish the stem and the case or personal endings. In the stem, again, we distinguish the root and the suffixes. A root is the ultimate core of the word which carries the fundamental meaning of that word. The suffixes are primary elements without a meaning of their own and without an independent existence of their own; they modify the fundamental meaning of the root.

Traditional grammar has divided all the words into primary derivatives, or *kitaka*, and secondary derivatives, or *taddhita*

- a). The primary derivatives are those that have been built up by the addition of one suffix to the root; the secondary derivatives are those that are formed by the addition of one or more suffixes to a primary derivative.
- b). The suffixes that form the primary or *kitaka* derivatives have been divided into *kicca* and *kita* suffixes. The *kicca* suffixes are those used to form the future participle passive, while the *kita* suffixes are those used to form other primary derivatives.

- c). The secondary or *taddhita* derivatives have often been divided into *sāmañña-taddhita*, *bhāva-taddhita*, and *avyaya-taddhita*. The *sāmañña-taddhita* include words having a variety of meanings: lineage (*apaccattha*), possession (*atthya*), numerals (*sankhyā*), and several other meanings (*anekattha*). The *bhāva-taddhita* include words that point out a quality or a state as is indicated by the suffixes *-tā*, *-tta*, *-ya*. The *avyaya-taddhita* include the adverbs.

The distinction between primary and secondary suffixes is not of great importance since the same suffixes may be used both as primary and as secondary: the suffix *-a* in *kip-a* is primary while in *silavant-a* is secondary. Further the distinction between a primary and a secondary derivative as made by the older grammarians, does not always coincide with the conclusions of modern grammarians who have subjected the nature and the structure of the suffixes to a more careful analysis. And it is some of the results of modern grammar that will be brought, as far as possible, within the reach of the student. And in doing so, the roots of the words and the suffixes will usually be given in their Sanskrit form; for it is only by doing so that the pattern of the phonological changes becomes clear.

109. Suffixes. A suffix is a primary element. Hence any phoneme found in the language may have been used as a suffix. In practice only a limited number of phonemes have actually been used.

- a). Simple suffixes. The most common simple suffixes used in Pali are: *-a*, *-ā*, *-i*, *-ī*, *-u*, *-ū*, *-r*, *-n*, *-s*, *-t*, *-m*, *-k*. A suffix may appear in its weak grade, or in its *guṇa* grade, and sometimes even in its *vrddhi* grade; v.g. the suffix *-i* may appear as *i:ay:āy*; the suffix *-n* may appear as *n an ān*
- b). Compound suffixes. When two suffixes are joined together in such a way that the first is always in the zero grade while the second appears in the zero or *guṇa* or *vrddhi* grade, then the suffix is called a compound suffix. Thus

when the suffix *-i* is combined with the suffix *n.an;ān*, the new suffix is called a compound suffix, that is: *in.yan;yān*.

- c). Extended suffixes. If a suffix, simple or compound, is extended with another in its zero grade, then the new suffix is called an extended suffix; v.g. *ag-n-i > agni > aggi*. But the most common extension in the language is obtained with the thematic vowel *-a* which is in its *guṇa* grade. The simple suffix *n.an;ān* may be extended with the suffix *-a*: *n-a:an-a'an-a* i.e. *na:ana:āna*. Similarly the compound suffix *in:yan;yān* may be extended with the suffix *-a*: *in-a:yan-a:yān-a* i.e. *ina:yana:yāna*
- d). Though originally the suffixes had no special meaning of their own, yet some of them gradually acquired a special meaning. Thus the suffix *-ka / -aka* is used to convey the idea of smallness or of contempt: *puttaka* 'little child', *gāmaka* 'little village', *samaṇaka* 'a sorry specimen of a recluse'.
- e). Just as the suffix, so also the root may appear in its zero, *guṇa* or even *vrddhi* grade: *kṣip-a > khupa* 'throw' is in the zero grade; while *khep-ana > khepana* 'throwing' is its *guṇa* grade; *mṛ-: mar-ana : mār-a* in the *guṇa* and *vrddhi* grade.

When a root ends in *-c / -j*, some of the derivatives retain the palatal consonants while others change them to their corresponding guttural consonants: *pac-: pacana / pāk-a* 'cooking', *bhuj-: bhojana* 'food' and *bhoga* 'wealth'.

110. Root stems. There are a few root stems in Pali which are very rarely used: *vac-* 'word' used in the instrumental case *vac-ā > vacā*; *vak-* 'speech' in *vak-karāna*; *pad-* 'foot' in *pad-ā*, *pad-am*; *dis-* 'region' in *dis-o*, *dis-am*; *path-* 'road' in *path-i*; *ji-* 'conqueror' in *saṅgamaji*.

111. Suffix *-a*. The suffix *-a* is used to form both nouns and adjectives. It is added to the root in its weak or *guṇa* or *vrddhi*

grade, and sometimes even to the present stem of a verb. Further it is used to turn a noun into an adjective in a bahubhihi samāsa and is used also to split a consonant group. Some of these derivatives are used alone and some are used only at the end of compounds.

a). Roots in their weak grade:

<i>kṛṣ-a</i>	>	<i>kisa</i>	lean	
<i>kṣip-a</i>	>	<i>khupa</i>	throw	
<i>chid-a</i>	>	<i>chida</i>	destroying	<i>manacchida</i> destroying pride
<i>viś-a</i>	>	<i>visa</i>	entering	<i>mibbisa</i> wages
<i>d-a</i>	>	<i>da</i>	g.v.ng	<i>sukhada</i> giving happiness
<i>g-a</i>	>	<i>ga</i>	going	<i>uraga</i> snake
<i>sth-a</i>	>	<i>tha</i>	standing	<i>pabbatattha</i> standing on the mountain
<i>p-a</i>	>	<i>pa</i>	drinking	<i>padapa</i> tree (drinking at the foot)
<i>dṛś-a</i>	>	<i>disa</i>	seeing	<i>duddasa</i> difficult to see

b). Roots in their guna grade:

<i>jī-a</i>	>	<i>jay-a</i>	>	<i>jaya</i>	victory
<i>i-a</i>	>	<i>ay-a</i>	>	<i>aya</i>	going <i>udaya</i> going up
<i>ci-a</i>	>	<i>cay-a</i>	>	<i>caya</i>	heap
<i>kṛī-a</i>	>	<i>kray-a</i>	>	<i>kaya</i>	purchase
<i>kṣip-a</i>	>	<i>ksep-a</i>	>	<i>khepa</i>	throwing
<i>vid-a</i>	>	<i>ved-a</i>	>	<i>veda</i>	feeling
<i>yudh-a</i>	>	<i>yodh-a</i>	>	<i>yodha</i>	soldier
<i>krudh-a</i>	>	<i>krodh-a</i>	>	<i>krodha</i>	anger
<i>muh-a</i>	>	<i>moh-a</i>	>	<i>moha</i>	foolishness
<i>muh-a</i>	>	<i>mogh-a</i>	>	<i>mogha</i>	foolish
<i>du-a</i>	>	<i>dav-a</i>	>	<i>dava</i>	fire

<i>dru-a</i>	>	<i>drav-a</i>	>	<i>dava</i>	running
<i>budh-a</i>	>	<i>bodh-a</i>	>	<i>bodha</i>	understanding
				<i>duranubodha</i>	difficult to understand
<i>kṛ-a</i>	>	<i>kar-a</i>	>	<i>kara</i>	doing
				<i>sukara</i>	easy to do
<i>drp-a</i>	>	<i>dar-p-a</i>	>	<i>dappa</i>	arrogance
<i>grah-a</i>	>	<i>grah-a</i>	>	<i>gaha</i>	taking
<i>argh-a</i>	>	<i>argh-a</i>	>	<i>aggha</i>	value
<i>añc-a</i>	>	<i>añk-a</i>	>	<i>añka</i>	hook
<i>gam-a</i>	>	<i>gam-a</i>	>	<i>gama</i>	going
				<i>durangama</i>	going far

c). Roots in their vṛddhi grade:

<i>i-a</i>	>	<i>āy-a</i>	>	<i>āya</i>	going	<i>ni-āya</i> > <i>nyāya</i> > <i>nñāya</i> > <i>nāya</i> method
<i>ṭṛ-a</i>	>	<i>tār-a</i>	>	<i>tāra</i>	crossing	<i>avatāra</i> coming down
<i>hṛ-a</i>	>	<i>hār-a</i>	>	<i>hāra</i>	holding	<i>vihāra</i> monastery
<i>tras-a</i>	>	<i>trās-a</i>	>	<i>trāsa</i>	fear	<i>uttāsa</i> fear
<i>vad-a</i>	>	<i>vād-a</i>	>	<i>vāda</i>	speech	
<i>vas-a</i>	>	<i>vās-a</i>	>	<i>vāsa</i>	dwelling	
<i>raj-a</i>	>	<i>rāg-a</i>	>	<i>rāga</i>	passion	
<i>tyaj-a</i>	>	<i>tyāg-a</i>	>	<i>cāga</i>	liberality	
<i>pad-a</i>	>	<i>pād-a</i>	>	<i>pāda</i>	going	<i>uppāda</i> arising
<i>ram-a</i>	>	<i>rām-a</i>	>	<i>rāma</i>	delighting	
				<i>ārāma</i>	place of delights	

d). Stem of the present tense:

<i>dad-a</i>	<i>dada</i>	giving	<i>duddada</i>	difficult to give
<i>jah-a</i>	<i>jaha</i>	abandoning	<i>sabbañjaha</i>	giving up all
<i>muñc-a</i>	<i>muñca</i>	releasing	<i>duppamuñca</i>	difficult to release

e). Bahubbīhi samasa: *anguli* 'finger' but *dvaṅgula* 'a breadth of two fingers'. *akkhi* 'eye' but *apparajakkha* 'one who has little dust in his eyes'.

f). Insertion of -a: *garh-a* > *garaha* 'blame', *arh-a* > *araha* 'worthy of'.

N.B. In a few cases the suffix -a is alternative to -as in *ap-a* 'austerity'.

112. The suffix -ā. The suffix -ā is used to form

a). abstract nouns

b). the feminine of all the adjective in -a

c). some adverbs.

a). Abstract nouns. In forming abstract nouns the suffix -ā is added to the root which appears with a vowel long either by nature or by position, or with a vowel either in the guna or in the vṛddhi grade.

<i>kṛīḍ-ā</i>	>	<i>kīlā</i>	play
<i>nind-ā</i>	>	<i>nindā</i>	blame
<i>hims-ā</i>	>	<i>himsā</i>	harm
<i>ulk-ā</i>	>	<i>ukkā</i>	torch
<i>saṅk-ā</i>	>	<i>saṅkā</i>	doubt
<i>sev-ā</i>	>	<i>sevā</i>	service
<i>day-ā</i>	>	<i>dayā</i>	pity
<i>jar-ā</i>	>	<i>jarā</i>	old age
<i>dos-ā</i>	>	<i>dosā</i>	evening
<i>kham-ā</i>	>	<i>khamā</i>	patience
<i>kṣam-ā</i>	>	<i>chamā</i>	earth
<i>ās-ā</i>	>	<i>āsā</i>	wish
<i>chāy-ā</i>	>	<i>chāyā</i>	shadow

bhās-ā > *bhasa* speech

sakh-ā > *sākhā* branch

N.B. In *parisā* the final vowel -a stands for -ad: *parisad* > *parisā* 'assembly'.

b). Feminine of adjectives.

manāpa > *manapā* beloved

gata > *gatā* gone

gacchamāna > *gacchamānā* going

c). Adverbs.

pur-ā > *purā* formerly

sad-ā > *sadā* always

mṛṣ-ā > *musā* falsely

113. The suffix -i. The suffix -i

a). may be added to a root in its weak or guna or even vṛddhi grade to form masculine, feminine and neuter nouns

b). may be used as a connecting vowel

c). may be extended with the thematic vowel

d). may be compounded with other suffixes.

a). The suffix -i added to a root:

suc-i > *suci* shining

ruc-i > *ruci* light

rs-i > *isi* seer

kṛs-i > *kasi* ploughing

mun-i > *muni* sage

agn-i > *aggi* fire

as-i > *asi* sword

ah-i > *ahi* snake

<i>akṣ-i</i>	> <i>akkhi</i>	eye
<i>asth-i</i>	> <i>aṭṭhi</i>	bone
<i>vār-i</i>	> <i>vāri</i>	water
<i>nābh-i</i>	> <i>nābhi</i>	navel
<i>rāj-i</i>	> <i>rāji</i>	line
<i>vāś-i</i>	> <i>vāsi</i>	sharp knife

b). The suffix -i as connecting vowel:

<i>sth-i-ta</i>	> <i>thita</i>	standing
<i>gacch-i-ta</i>	> <i>gacchita</i>	gone
<i>sūr-ya</i>	> <i>suriya</i>	sun
<i>pāp-ya</i>	> <i>pāpiyo</i>	more sinful

c). The suffix -i extended with the thematic vowel -a, i.e. *i-a* > *ya*, *i-ā* > *yā*:

<i>div-i-a</i>	> <i>divya</i>	> <i>dibba</i>	divine
<i>sat-i-a</i>	> <i>satya</i>	> <i>sacca</i>	truth
<i>ādī-i-a</i>	> <i>āditya</i>	> <i>ādicca</i>	sun
<i>vid-i-a</i>	> <i>vidya</i>	> <i>viṇṇa</i>	knowledge
<i>kan-i-ā</i>	> <i>kanyā</i>	> <i>kaññā</i>	maiden
<i>mā-i-ā</i>	> <i>māyā</i>	magic	power
<i>jā-i-ā</i>	> <i>jāyā</i>		wife

The suffix -ya has been used to form the future participle passive. It is usually, though not always, added to the root in its guna grade:

<i>bhid-ya</i>	> <i>bhed-ya</i>	> <i>bhejja</i>	to be broken
<i>bhuj-ya</i>	> <i>bhoj-ya</i>	> <i>bhojja</i>	to be eaten
<i>bhū-ya</i>	> <i>bhav-ya</i>	> <i>bhabba</i>	to be capable of

<i>han-ya</i>	>	<i>hañña</i>	to be killed		
<i>guh-ya</i>	>	<i>guhya</i>	>	<i>guyha</i>	to be hidden

The suffix -ya has been very frequently used to form secondary neuter nouns from adjectives. These adjectives take the vrddhi of the first syllable unless the vowel is long by position:

<i>nipuṇ-ya</i>	> <i>nepuṇ-ya</i>	> <i>nepuṇṇa</i>	skill
<i>kusal-ya</i>	> <i>kosal-ya</i>	> <i>kosalla</i>	proficiency
<i>pañḍit-ya</i>	> <i>pañḍicca</i>		erudition
<i>anant-ya</i>	> <i>anañcya</i>	> <i>anañca</i>	infinity
<i>dussil-ya</i>	> <i>dussīlya</i>		weakenedness

The suffix -ya is also used to form adjectives from adverbs and adverbial particles:

<i>tatha</i>	> <i>tath-ya</i>	> <i>taccha</i>	true
<i>akiñcana</i>	> <i>akiñcan-ya</i>	> <i>akiñcañña</i>	nothingness

d). The suffix -i can be compounded with other suffixes:

<i>i-r</i>	> <i>bah-i-r</i>	> <i>bahi</i>	outside
<i>i-ra</i>	> <i>ruc-i-ra</i>	> <i>rucira</i>	bright
	> <i>rudh-i-ra</i>	> <i>rudhira</i>	red
	> <i>badh-i-ra</i>	> <i>badhira</i>	deaf
	> <i>sth-i-ra</i>	> <i>thira</i>	firm
<i>i-n</i>	> <i>gām-i-n</i>	> <i>gāmin</i>	going
	> <i>cār-i-n</i>	> <i>cārin</i>	moving
	> <i>hast-i-n</i>	> <i>hatthin</i>	elephant
<i>i-na</i>	> <i>daks-i-na</i>	> <i>dakkhina</i>	south
<i>i-nā</i>	> <i>daks-i-na</i>	> <i>dakkhinā</i>	gift

N.B. instead of -ira sometimes we find -ila' *sithila* 'loose', *salila* 'water'.

i-sa > *mah-i-sa* *mahisa* buffalo

In *pur-i-sa* the suffix *-isa* corresponds to the Sanskrit *-uṣa*.

In *kar-i-sa* the vowel *-i* has been lengthened: *karisa* "dung".

<i>i-as</i> > <i>yas</i> :	<i>bhu-i-as</i> > <i>bhuyas</i> > <i>bhuyo</i> , <i>bhuyyo</i>	
		/ <i>bhiyyo</i> more
	<i>pāp-i-as</i> > <i>pāpyas</i> > <i>pāpyo</i>	more sinful
<i>i-ṣ-ṭha</i> :	<i>pāp-i-ṣ-ṭha</i> > <i>pāpiṭṭha</i>	most sinful
	<i>kan-i-ṣ-ṭha</i> > <i>kaniṭṭha</i>	youngest
<i>i-ta</i> :	<i>roh-i-ta</i> > <i>rohita</i> / <i>lohita</i>	red
	<i>har-i-ta</i> > <i>harita</i>	green
<i>i-tā</i> :	<i>sar-i-tā</i> > <i>saritā</i>	river
<i>i-ma</i>	<i>pur-i-ma</i> > <i>purima</i>	former
	<i>ant-i-ma</i> > <i>antima</i>	last

114. The suffix *-i*. The suffix *-i* is added to form

- nouns
- the feminine of nouns whose stem ends in *-a*
- the feminine of adjectives with stems in consonant
- the feminine of ordinal numerals from four upwards
- some adverbs from thematic stems

a) The suffix *-i* used to form nouns:

<i>nad-i</i> > <i>nadī</i>	river	<i>tāḍ-i</i> > <i>tāḍī</i>	blow
<i>dar-i</i> > <i>darī</i>	hole	<i>nand-i</i> > <i>nandī</i>	joy

b). The suffix *-i* used to form the feminine of thematic stems:

<i>dāsa</i> > <i>dāsī</i>	maid servant	<i>deva</i> > <i>devī</i>	goddess
<i>cora</i> > <i>corī</i>	female thief		

c). The suffix *-ī* used to form the feminine of nouns and adjectives with the stem in consonant:

<i>hatthin</i> > <i>hatthinī</i>	female elephant
<i>rājan</i> > <i>rājini</i>	queen
<i>silavant</i> > <i>silavati</i>	virtuous
<i>carant</i> > <i>caranti</i>	moving about

d). The suffix *-ī* used to form the feminine of ordinals:

<i>catuttha</i> > <i>catutthī</i>	fourth
<i>pañcama</i> > <i>pañcamī</i>	fifth
<i>ekādasama</i> > <i>ekādasamī</i>	eleventh
<i>ekādasa</i> > <i>ekādasi</i>	eleventh

e). The suffix *-ī* used to form adverbs from thematic stem:

<i>bala</i> > <i>balī</i>	: <i>dubbalikaraṇa</i>	weakening
<i>missa</i> > <i>missī</i>	: <i>missibhūta</i>	become mixed up
<i>kaddama</i> > <i>kaddamī</i>	: <i>kaddamikataṃ</i>	turned into mud
<i>sīta</i> > <i>sitī</i>	: <i>sitibhūto</i>	become tranquil

115. The suffix *-u*. The suffix *-u*

- is used to form nouns and adjectives
- is used to split up a consonant group
- is extended with other suffixes
- is compounded with other suffixes

a). The suffix *-u* used to form nouns and adjectives:

<i>madh-u</i> > <i>madhu</i>	honey	<i>āy-u</i> > <i>āyu</i>	life
<i>vas-u</i> > <i>vasu</i>	wealth	<i>jān-u</i> > <i>jānu</i>	knee
<i>han-u</i> > <i>hanu</i>	jaw	<i>dār-u</i> > <i>dāru</i>	wood
<i>mud-u</i> > <i>mudu</i>	soft	<i>sādh-u</i> > <i>sādhū</i>	good

b). The suffix *-u* used to split a consonant group:

<i>padma</i>	> <i>paduma</i>	lotus
<i>brahunnā</i>	> <i>brahmunā</i>	with Brahma

c). Suffix *-u* extended with suffixes *-a*, *-ā*, *-i*

u-ā > *vā*, *u-a* > *va*, *u-i* > *vi*

<i>as-u-a</i>	> <i>asva</i>	> <i>assa</i>	horse
<i>pac-u-a</i>	> <i>pakva</i>	> <i>pakka</i>	ripe
<i>pūr-u-a</i>	> <i>pūrva</i>	> <i>pubba</i>	former
<i>ūrdh-u-a</i>	> <i>ūrdhva</i>	> <i>uddha</i>	above

There are some words in which the suffix *-u* is found in its guna grade and the vowel of the first syllable is lengthened, unless it is already long.

<i>arṇ-u-a</i>	> <i>arṇ-o-a</i>	> <i>arṇava</i>	> <i>aṇṇava</i>	sea
<i>man-u-a</i>	> <i>mān-o-a</i>	> <i>mānava</i>		youth
<i>jih-u-ā</i>	> <i>jihvā</i>	> <i>jivhā</i>		tongue
<i>gri-u-ā</i>	> <i>grīvā</i>	> <i>givā</i>		neck
<i>dār-u-ī</i>	> <i>dārvī</i>	> <i>dabbī</i>		ladle

d). Suffix *-u* compounded with other suffixes.

u-r > *ur*; this suffix is found with the extension *-ta* in

<i>muh-ur-ta</i>	>	<i>muhutta</i>		moment	
<i>u-r-a</i>	>	<i>ura</i>			
		<i>bhid-ura</i>	>	<i>bhidura</i>	fragile
		<i>vid-ura</i>	>	<i>vidura</i>	wise
		<i>bhās-ura</i>	>	<i>bhāsura</i>	shining
		<i>añc-ura</i>	>	<i>ankura</i>	bud
<i>u-ar-a</i>	>	<i>vara</i> ,			
		<i>is-vara</i>	>	<i>issara</i>	lord
		<i>sthā-vara</i>	>	<i>thāvara</i>	stable

N.B. *-ar* is the suffix *-r* in its guna grade

u-n > *un* extended with the suffix *-ta*

		<i>sak-un-ta</i>	> <i>sakunta</i>	bird
<i>u-na</i>	> <i>una</i> :	<i>sak-una</i>	> <i>sakuna</i>	bird
		<i>ar-una</i>	> <i>aruṇa</i>	red
		<i>dār-una</i>	> <i>daruṇa</i>	strong
		<i>piś-una</i>	> <i>pisuna</i>	slandorous
<i>u-nā</i>	> <i>unā</i> :	<i>kar-unā</i>	> <i>karuṇā</i>	pity
<i>u-an</i>	> <i>van</i> :	<i>yu-van</i>	> <i>yuvan</i>	young
		<i>adh-van</i>	> <i>addhan</i>	time
<i>u-an-t</i>	> <i>vant</i> :	usually added to the stem		
		<i>guṇa-vant</i>	> <i>guṇavam</i>	virtuous
		<i>silā-vant</i>	> <i>silavam</i>	virtuous
<i>u-an-t-a</i>	> <i>vanta</i> :	<i>guṇa-vanta</i>	> <i>gunavanta</i>	virtuous
		<i>silā-vanta</i>	> <i>silavanta</i>	virtuous
<i>u-in</i>	> <i>vin</i> :	<i>tejas-vin</i>	> <i>tejassin</i>	shining
		<i>tapas-vin</i>	> <i>tapassin</i>	austere
<i>u-s-a</i>	> <i>uṣa</i> :	<i>phar-uṣa</i>	> <i>pharusa</i>	harsh
		<i>mān-uṣa</i>	> <i>mānusa</i>	human

116. The suffix *-ū*. The suffix *-ū* is used to form agent nouns from a verbal root and to form some feminine stems.

<i>gā</i>	> <i>gū</i>	<i>pāra-gū</i>	gone to the other shore
<i>jñā</i>	> <i>ñū</i>	<i>kāla-ññū</i>	knowing the right time
<i>bhū</i>	> <i>bhu</i>	<i>abhi-bhū</i>	conqueror
		<i>vadhū</i>	daughter-in-law

117. Suffix *rarcār*. This suffix is used alone in a few cases, but in many others it is used with the extension of a vowel

ar:	adh-ar	> adho	below
r-a:	ag-ra	> agga	point
	vak-ra	> vakka	crooked
	abh-ra	> abbha	cloud
	kṣip-ra	> khippa	swift
	kṣi-ra	> khira	milk
	śvabh-ra	> sobbha	hole
	aś-ra	> assa, aṃsa	point
r-ā:	su-rā	> surā	intoxicating drink
	dhā-rā	> dhārā	cutting edge
r-i:	bhū-ri	> bhūri	earth
	aś-ri	> assī, aṃsi	edge
r-u:	bhī-ru	> bhīru	fearful
	aś-ru	> assu	tear
ar-a:	ud-ara	> udara	belly
	tas-ara	> tasara	shuttle
	pañj-ara	> pañjara	cage
	van-ara	> vanara	monkey
ar-i:	up-ari	> upari	above
ār-a:	marj-āra	> majjāra	cat

118. The suffix *n:an:ān*. The suffix *n:an:ān* is usually used as extended with a vowel or a consonant.

an	murdh-an	> muddhan	head
	rāj-an	> rajan	king
n-a	yaj-na	> yañña	sacrifice
	uṣ-na	> uṇha	heat

	kar-na	> kaṇṇa	ear
	glā-na	> gilāna	ill
	jñā-na	> ñāna	wisdom
	sthā-na	> thāna	place
n-a	se-na	> sena	army
	sthū-nā	> thūnā	pillar
n-i	yu-ni	> yoni	womb
	śre-ni	> seṇi	guild
	ag-ni	> aggi	fire
n-u	dhe-nu	> dhenu	cow
an-a	kṣip-ana	> khipana	throwing
	krp-ana	> kapaṇa	poor
	dh-ana	> dhana	wealth
	kar-ana	> karana	doing
	tar-ana	> taraṇa	crossing
	kodh-ana	> khodana	angry
	bhāj-ana	> bhājana	bowl
	kār-ana	> kāraṇa	deed
	vāh-ana	> vāhana	carrying
ān-a	pur-āna	> purāna	ancient
	es-āna	> esāna	seeking
an-a	kuh-anā	> kuhanā	decent
	guh-anā	> guhanā	hiding
	kṣip-anā	> khipanā	throwing up
	cet-anā	> cetanā	thought
	cod-anā	> codanā	scolding

	<i>dhār-anā</i>	> <i>dhāraṇā</i>	wearing
<i>an-i</i>	<i>vart-ani</i>	> <i>vaṭṭani</i>	burning
	<i>aś-ani</i>	> <i>asani</i>	thunderbolt
<i>an-i</i>	<i>ghar-ani</i>	> <i>gharaṇī</i>	house-wife
<i>an-t</i>	<i>vas-ant</i>	> <i>vasant</i> > <i>vasam</i>	dwelling
	<i>car-ant</i>	> <i>carant</i> > <i>caram</i>	moving
	<i>mah-ant</i>	> <i>mahant</i> > <i>mahā</i>	great
<i>an-ta</i>	<i>vas-anta</i>	> <i>vasanta</i>	dwelling
	<i>mah-anta</i>	> <i>mahanta</i>	great
	<i>hem-anta</i>	> <i>hemanta</i>	winter

119. The suffix *s:as:ās*. The suffix *s:as:ās* is used alone or in combination with other suffixes to form nouns and adjectives.

<i>s-a:</i>	<i>vat-sa</i>	> <i>vaccha</i>	calf
	<i>yak-sa</i>	> <i>yakkha</i>	non-human being
	<i>ṛk-sa</i>	> <i>accha</i>	bear
	<i>dak-sa</i>	> <i>dakkha</i>	skilled
<i>s-ara:</i>	<i>dhū-sara</i>	> <i>dhūsara</i>	dust-coloured
	<i>mat-sara</i>	> <i>macchara</i>	envious
	<i>samvat-sara</i>	> <i>samvacchara</i>	year
<i>s-ra:</i>	<i>ti-sras</i>	> <i>tisso</i>	three
<i>s-m</i>	<i>kṛ-sna</i>	> <i>kaṇha</i>	black
	<i>slak-sna</i>	> <i>sanha</i>	smooth
	<i>tik-sna</i>	> <i>tikkha</i> / <i>tikhīṇa</i>	sharp
<i>s-nā:</i>	<i>ṭṛ-snā</i>	> <i>taṇhā</i>	craving
<i>as-a:</i>	<i>mān-asa</i>	> <i>mānasa</i>	mental
	<i>āy-asa</i>	> <i>āyasa</i>	made of iron

120. The suffix *t:at:āt*. The suffix *t:at:āt* is used alone and in combination with other suffixes to form a variety of nouns and adjectives.

t-a: the suffix *-ta* is used to form the past participle by adding it to the root of a verb or to the stem of the present. Sometimes the suffix *-ta* is added with the connecting vowel *-i*

<i>śru-ta</i>	> <i>suta</i>	heard	<i>kr-ta</i>	> <i>kata</i>	done
<i>labh-ta</i>	> <i>laddha</i>	obtained	<i>drs-ta</i>	> <i>ditṭha</i>	seen
<i>dah-ta</i>	> <i>daḍḍha</i>	burnt	<i>muh-ta</i>	> <i>mūlha</i>	infatuated
<i>sth-i-ta</i>	> <i>ṭhita</i>	standing	<i>gacch-i-ta</i>	> <i>gacchita</i>	gone

The suffix *-ta* is used also to form a few nouns:

<i>gī-ta</i>	> <i>gīta</i>	song	<i>ghṛ-ta</i>	> <i>ghata</i>	butter
<i>sū-ta</i>	> <i>sūta</i>	charioteer	<i>dū-ta</i>	> <i>dūta</i>	messenger

t-ā: the suffix *-tā* is used to form abstract nouns

<i>deva-tā</i>	> <i>devatā</i>	deity
<i>lahu-tā</i>	> <i>lahutā</i>	quickness
<i>thira-tā</i>	> <i>thiratā</i>	firmness
<i>issariya-tā</i>	> <i>issariyatā</i>	lordship
<i>kāruṇṇa-tā</i>	> <i>kāruṇṇatā</i>	compassionateness

This suffix is added even to the future participle passive and to some *saṃāsa*:

<i>bhabba-tā</i>	> <i>bhabbatā</i>	possibility
<i>kataṇṇu-tā</i>	> <i>kataṇṇutā</i>	gratitude
<i>karaṇīya-tā</i>	> <i>karaṇīyatā</i>	obligation
<i>appiccha-tā</i>	> <i>appicchatā</i>	satisfaction
<i>anāgāmi-tā</i>	> <i>anāgamitā</i>	the fact of not coming back

<i>t-ar</i>	<i>pi-tar</i>	>	<i>pitār</i>	>	<i>pitā</i>	father
	<i>mā-tar</i>	>	<i>mātar</i>	>	<i>mātā</i>	mother
	<i>ne-tar</i>	>	<i>netar</i>	>	<i>netā</i>	leader

t-ara: this suffix is used to form comparatives:

<i>ud-tara</i>	>	<i>uttara</i>	above	<i>ka-tara</i>	>	<i>katara</i>	which
<i>piya-tara</i>	>	<i>piyatara</i>	dearer	<i>dura-tara</i>	>	<i>duratara</i>	farther

t-ama: this suffix is used to form the superlative of the adjectives and of the ordinal numerals:

<i>piya-tama</i>	>	<i>piyatama</i>	dearest
<i>dūra-tama</i>	>	<i>dūratama</i>	farthest
<i>saṭṭhi-tama</i>	>	<i>saṭṭhitama</i>	sixtieth
<i>sata-tama</i>	>	<i>satatama</i>	hundredth

<i>t-ana</i> :	<i>ve-tana</i>	>	<i>vetana</i>	wages
	<i>nu-tana</i>	>	<i>nutana</i>	of the present
	<i>ajja-tana</i>	>	<i>ajjatana</i>	of today
	<i>sanā-tana</i>	>	<i>sanantana</i>	eternal

<i>t-as</i> :	<i>sro-tas</i>	>	<i>sotas</i>	>	<i>soto</i>	current
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<i>t-i</i> :	<i>ci-ti</i>	>	<i>citi</i>	heap	<i>cyu-ti</i>	>	<i>cuti</i>	passing away
	<i>dhṛ-ti</i>	>	<i>dhṛti</i>	energy	<i>prāp-ti</i>	>	<i>patti</i>	foot soldier
	<i>śām-ti</i>	>	<i>santi</i>	peace	<i>stu-ti</i>	>	<i>thuti</i>	praise
	<i>jñā-ti</i>	>	<i>ñāti</i>	relative				

t-ima: this suffix is used to form ordinal numerals

<i>visa-tima</i>	>	<i>visatima</i>	twentieth				
<i>timsa-tima</i>	>	<i>timsatima</i>	thirtieth				
<i>t-u: dhā-tu</i>	>	<i>dhātu</i>	element	<i>r-tu</i>	>	<i>utu</i>	season
<i>tan-tu</i>	>	<i>tantu</i>	string	<i>vas-tu</i>	>	<i>vatthu</i>	object

t-u-m: *da-tum* > *dātum* to give *ne-tum* > *netum* to lead
This suffix is used to form the infinitive of the verbs.

t-u-a > *tva* > *tta*: this suffix is added to nouns, adjectives and participles to form abstract nouns.

<i>manussa-tta</i>	>	<i>manussatta</i>	the fact of being a man
<i>eka-tta</i>	>	<i>ekatta</i>	oneness
<i>sāvaka-tta</i>	>	<i>sāvakatta</i>	discipleship
<i>kata-tta</i>	>	<i>katatta</i>	the fact of having done

t-u-ā > *tvā*, *t-u-ā-na* > *tvāna*, *t-ū-na* > *tūna*: these suffixes are used to form the past gerund of the verbs:

<i>gam-tvā</i>	>	<i>gantvā</i> , <i>gantvāna</i> , <i>gantūna</i>	having gone
<i>kr-tvā</i>	>	<i>katvā</i> , <i>katvāna</i> , <i>katūna</i>	having done

-tuye, *-tave* are used to form some infinitives:

<i>śru-tave</i>	>	<i>sotave</i>	to hear
<i>bhū-tuye</i>	>	<i>bhavituye</i> > <i>hetuye</i>	to be

<i>t-ra</i>	>	<i>tta</i> :	<i>mi-tra</i>	>	<i>mitta</i>	friend	<i>pu-tra</i>	>	<i>putta</i>	son
			<i>vas-tra</i>	>	<i>vattha</i>	garment	<i>rāṣ-tra</i>	>	<i>raṭṭha</i>	kingdom

<i>t-rā</i>	>	<i>tā</i> :	<i>mā-trā</i>	>	<i>mattā</i>	measure
<i>t-ri</i>	>	<i>tī</i> :	<i>rā-tri</i>	>	<i>ratti</i>	night
			<i>tan-tri</i>	>	<i>tanti</i>	string
<i>t-h-a</i> :			<i>dama-tha</i>	>	<i>damatha</i>	control
			<i>yu-tha</i>	>	<i>yutha</i>	flock
			<i>tīr-tha</i>	>	<i>tittha</i>	ford
			<i>ra-tha</i>	>	<i>ratha</i>	chariot
<i>t-h-ā</i> :			<i>gā-thā</i>	>	<i>gāthā</i>	song
<i>at-a</i> :			<i>rāj-ata</i>	>	<i>rājata</i>	silver

121. The suffix *m:am:ām*.

<i>m-a:</i>	<i>bhī-ma</i>	>	<i>bhīma</i>	fearful
	<i>dhū-ma</i>	>	<i>dhūma</i>	smoke
	<i>dhar-ma</i>	>	<i>dhamma</i>	doctrine
	<i>grī-ma</i>	>	<i>gimha</i>	hot
<i>m-an:</i>	<i>at-man</i>	>	<i>attan</i>	self
	<i>brah-man</i>	>	<i>brahman</i>	brahma
<i>m-ant:</i>	<i>bandhu-man</i>	>	<i>bhandumā</i>	one who has many relatives
	<i>cakkhu-man</i>	>	<i>cakkhumā</i>	one who has eyes
	<i>hīri-mant</i>	>	<i>hīrimā</i>	modest
<i>m-ānta:</i>	<i>cakkhu-manta</i>	>	<i>cakkhumānta</i>	one who has eyes
<i>m-āna:</i> suffix added to the stem of the present of the verbs to form present participles:				
	<i>tara-māna</i>	>	<i>taramāna</i>	crossing
	<i>gaccha-manā</i>	>	<i>gacchamāna</i>	going
<i>m-āra:</i>	<i>kar-māra</i>	>	<i>kammāra</i>	smith
<i>m-i:</i>	<i>bhū-mi</i>	>	<i>bhūmi</i>	earth
	<i>ras-mi</i>	>	<i>raṃsi</i>	ray
<i>am-a:</i>	<i>das-ama</i>	>	<i>dasama</i>	tenth
	<i>adh-ama</i>	>	<i>adhama</i>	lowest
	<i>par-ama</i>	>	<i>parama</i>	highest

122. The suffix *k:ak*. This suffix, usually extended with the thematic vowel *-a:* *-ka:-aka* is a very common suffix in Pali and is used to form a variety of words. Sometimes we find *-ika* instead of *-ka*

k-a added to a root:

<i>śus-ka</i>	>	<i>sukkha</i>	dry	<i>ślo-ka</i>	>	<i>siloka</i>	fame
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k-a added to a variety of verbal forms:

<i>uṭṭhaya</i>	>	<i>uṭṭhāyaka</i>	quick
<i>gayha</i>	>	<i>gayhaka</i>	one who is to be taken
<i>gilāna</i>	>	<i>gilānaka</i>	sick
<i>jāta</i>	>	<i>jātaka</i>	birth
<i>vutta</i>	>	<i>vuttaka</i>	saying (<i>Itivuttaka</i>)
<i>kattabba</i>	>	<i>kattabbaka</i>	duty

-aka added to a verbal root to form agent nouns.

<i>kār-aka</i>	>	<i>kāraka</i>	doer	<i>cār-aka</i>	>	<i>cāraka</i>	wanderer
<i>sāv-aka</i>	>	<i>sāvaka</i>	listener				

-aka added to action nouns to form agent nouns

<i>uṭṭhān-aka</i>	>	<i>uṭṭhānaka</i>	giving rise
<i>kilāpan-aka</i>	>	<i>kilāpanaka</i>	toy
<i>āharan-aka</i>	>	<i>āharanaka</i>	messenger

-aka added to nouns without changing their meaning:

<i>ud-aka</i>	>	<i>udaka</i>	water
<i>ācarariy-aka</i>	>	<i>ācaraiyaka</i>	teacher
<i>then-aka</i>	>	<i>thenaka</i>	thief
<i>chatt-aka</i>	>	<i>chattaka</i>	sunshade

-aka added to nouns to give them a diminutive meaning:

<i>gām-aka</i>	>	<i>gāmaka</i>	a little village
<i>putt-aka</i>	>	<i>puttaka</i>	a little child
<i>kumār-aka</i>	>	<i>kumāraka</i>	a little prince
<i>gath-aka</i>	>	<i>gāthaka</i>	a little poem

-aka added to nouns to indicate contempt:

saman-aka > samanaka a sorry specimen of a recluse

mund-aka > mundaka a shaveling

-ka / -aka added to adjectives without changing their meaning:

khudd-aka > khuddaka little

jetth-aka > jetthaka eldest

uju-ka > ujuka straight

kāl-aka > kālaka black

-ka / -aka added to adverbs and pronouns to make adjectives:

adhī-ka > adhika exceeding

anti-ka > antika near

tatta-ka > tattaka so much

māma-ka > māmaka mine

-ika' this suffix is often used especially in the sense of belonging:

kāla > kālika temporary

kāruṇṇa > kāruṇṇika merciful

cetasa > cetasika mental

gāma > gāmika governor of a village

123. Some other suffixes:

-eyya' gāma > gāmeyya belonging to the village

dakkhina > dakkhineyya worthy of gifts

adhipati > adhipateyya lordship

patha > patheyya provisions for the journey

-āyana / -āna'

Kaccāyana / Kaccāna of the lineage of Kacca

CHAPTER IX

NOMINAL COMPOUNDS

A nominal compound or samāsa is a group of two or more words joined together in such a way that only the last is declined while the others are in their stem form.

The nominal compounds may be divided into

- a). dvanda samāsa
- b). tappurisa samāsa
- c). kammadhāraya samāsa
- d). bahubhihi samāsa
- e). governing compounds
- f). syntactical compounds

124. The first member of a compound. The first member of a compound may be a noun, an adjective, a pronoun, a numeral, an adverb, a verbal form. When it is a noun, an adjective, a pronoun, or a numeral, this appears in its stem form: *assa-damako* 'horse-trainer', *bhikkhu-saṅgho* 'the assembly of the monks'. A few points, however, have to be noted:

- a). Some stems in *-a* change the final vowel to *-ī* when compounded with forms of the verb *bhū-* and *kr-*:

<i>kaddama-kata</i>	> <i>kaddamī-kata</i>	turned into mud
<i>dubbala-karaṇa</i>	> <i>dubbali-karaṇa</i>	weakening
<i>sīta-bhūta</i>	> <i>sīti-bhūta</i>	that has become calm
<i>missa-bhūta</i>	> <i>missi-bhūta</i>	that has become mixed
<i>sammukha-bhāva</i>	> <i>sammukhī-bhāva</i>	the fact of being present
<i>eka-bhāva</i>	> <i>ekī-bhāva</i>	the fact of being alone
<i>bahula-kata</i>	> <i>bahulī-kata</i>	made much of

- b). The masculine stems in *-ū* shorten their final vowel: *viññū-jātika* > *viññu-jātika* 'wise by birth'
- c). The stem *go-* remains unchanged before consonant, but it becomes *gav-* before a vowel: *go-ghātako* 'killer of cows', *go-assaṃ* > *gav-assaṃ* 'cattle and horses'
- d). The feminine stems in *-ā*, *-ī*, *-ū* shorten their final vowel in a few cases: *mettā-citto* > *metta-citto* 'with a kindly mind', *dāsī-dāsaṃ* > *dāsi-dāsaṃ* 'a maid and a man servant'.
- e). In composition the adjectives take always the same stem whether they are followed by a masculine or feminine or neuter noun: *piya-putto* 'dear son', *piya-mātā* 'dear mother', *piya-gehaṃ* 'dear house'.
- f). *Ratti* is sometimes changed into *ratta* usually in the sense of time: *ratti-ññū* > *ratta-ññū* 'he who knows the proper time'
- g). Stems in *-ar*: *pitar*, *mātar*, etc. usually have their stem in *-u*: *pitar-rakkhita* > *pitu-rakkhita* 'protected by the father', *mātar-ghātaka* > *mātu-ghātaka* 'killer of the mother'.

In dvanda samāsa, however, there are the forms *pitā*, *mātā*: *mātā-pitaro* 'mother and father', *pitā-puttā* 'father and children'

In a few cases there are also the forms *mattī* and *pettī*: *mattī-sambhavo* 'born from a mother'.

- h). There are a few compounds derived directly from Sanskrit in which the first member ends in a consonant: *khud-pipāsa* > *khuppipāsa* 'hunger and thirst', *vāc-karaṇa* > *vākkaraṇa* 'talking'
- i). Stems in *-as* usually change *-as* to *-o*. In many cases, however, the stem has passed to the thematic stem: *āpas-maya* > *āpo-maya* 'made of water', *uras-go* > *ura-go* 'snake'

But *rajas* is not changed in combination, hence *rajas-siro* 'with dust on the head', while *vacas* has sometimes been changed to *vacī*: *vacas-kammaṃ* > *vacī-kammaṃ* 'verbal action'.

- j). There seems to be no fixed rule for the stems in *-ant*: *mahant-muni* > *mahā-muni* 'great sage', *balavant-gavo* > *balava-gavo* 'sturdy oxen', *sant-dhammo* > *sat-dhammo* > *saddhammo* 'true doctrine', *bhagavant-rūpā* > *bhagavanta-rūpā* 'those like the Blessed One', *bhagavant-mūlaka* > *bhagavam-mūlakā* 'those that are based on the Blessed One'

- k). Stems in *-in*, *-an* drop the final nasal:

hatthin: *hatthi-gavassa-vaḷavaṃ* elephants, oxen, horses, mares

rājan: *rāja-rathā* 'royal chariots'.

- l). When pronouns and numerals are first members of a compound, they appear under different forms: *tad-karo* > *takkaro* 'doing that', *tvan-nātho* > *tvannātho* 'he who has you as his master'

For the numeral two we find *dvi-*, *dve-*, *di-*, *du*, *duv-*: *di-jo* 'bird', *dve-māsam* 'two months', etc.

For the numeral four we find *catu-*, *cātu-*, *catur*, *culla-*, *cūla*. *catur-itthiyo* 'four women'.

For the numeral six we find *cha-*, *chal-*, *sa-*, *sad*: *chal-abhiyatiyo* 'the six classes'.

125. The second member of a compound. In general the second member of a compound retains its own stem and follows its own declension, with the exception of the stems in *-an* which are sometimes declined like the stems in *-an* and sometimes like thematic stems: *maccu-rājā* 'the king of death', *miga-rañño* 'of the king of beasts', *mahā-raññā* 'with the great king', *nāga-rājassa* 'of the king of the nagas', *deva-rājena* 'by the king of the gods', *pahitatto* 'energetic', *pahitattam*, *pahitattassa* but also *bhāvitattānam* 'perfect'

126. Sandhi. In joining together words to form a samāsa, the usual sandhi rules are observed: *suñña-agāram* > *suññāgāram* 'empty house', *mahā-ogho* > *mahogho* 'great flood', *anu-addhamāsam* > *anvaddhamāsam* 'every fortnight'.

There are many compounds which are either derived directly from Sanskrit or are modelled on the Sanskrit compounds and hence show the application of Sanskrit consonant sandhi. While there is *diṭṭha-suta* 'seen and heard', there is also *bahu-ssuto* 'learned' with the double *-ss-* derived from Sanskrit *śr-*. Similarly *madhura-ssaro* 'sweet sound', *sa-ppañño* 'wise', *jāti-kkhamam* 'destruction of birth', *vehāsa-tthito* 'standing in the sky'.

D v a n d a S a m ā s a

127. Dvanda samāsa. A dvanda samāsa is made up of two or more words which, used separately, would be joined by the conjunction *ca*. The words *mātā ca pitā ca* can be joined together to form a dvanda samāsa: *mātā-pitaro* 'mother and father'. The words that are joined together may be nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and thus the whole compound may be classified as noun, adjective or adverb. The words that are joined together into a dvanda samāsa may be classified under various headings:

- a). The same word repeated twice: *sorata-sorato* 'very kind', *bhikkhu sama-samā* 'monks of exactly the same number', *punappunam* 'again and again', *uttaruttarim* 'higher and higher', *anga-m-angāni* 'limb after limb, all the limbs'.

- b). Words repeated twice with a prefix before the second member: *disā-vi-disasu* 'in the main and in the intermediary directions i.e. in all directions', *anga-paṭi-angāni* > *aṅga-paccangāni* 'the major and the minor limbs', *hura-ā-huram* > *hurāhuram* 'from existence to existence'.
- c). Words repeated twice with a prefix before each member: *ud-aya-vi-ayam* > *udayabbayam* 'rise and fall', *ā-caya-apa-cayo* > *ācayāpacayo* 'increase and decrease', *ā-koṭita-paṭi-a-ākoṭitam* > *ākoṭitapaccākoṭitam* 'flattened and pressed all round'.
- d). Words having the same or very similar meanings. *piṭi-sukham* 'joy and happiness', *bala-viriyaṃ* 'strength and energy', *lābha-sakkāra-siloko* 'gain, good treatment and a good name'.
- e). Words having opposite meanings: *udayattham* 'rise and fall', *cutūpapāto* 'rise and fall', *nindā-pasamsā* 'blame and praise', *saggāpāyo* 'heaven and hell', *kaṇha-sukkāni rūpāni* 'objects dark and bright', *ajjhata-bahiddhā* 'internally and externally', *uddam-adho* 'above and below'.
- f). Nouns indicating human and divine beings: *deva-manussā* 'gods and men', *samana-brāhmaṇā* 'recluses and brahmins', *ñāti-mittā* 'kinsmen and friends', *Sariputta-Moggallānā* 'Sariputta and Moggallāna'.
- g). Nouns indicating animals: *sona-sigālā* 'dogs and jackals', *ahi-vicchikā* 'snakes and scorpions', *accha-koka-taracchayo* 'bears, wolves and hyenas'.
- h). Nouns indicating trees, plants, etc.: *tiṇa-katthodakam* 'grass, firewood and water', *sākhā-palāsam* 'branches and foliage', *aca-papaṭikā* 'bark and young shoots'.
- i). Nouns indicating parts of the human body: *kanna-nāsam* 'ears and nose', *kesa-massum* 'hair of the head and of the body', *mamsa-lohitam* 'flesh and blood', *hattha-padā* 'hands and feet'.

- j). Nouns indicating food, drink, dress, lodging, etc.: *anna-pānam* 'food and drink', *maccha-mamsam* 'fish and flesh', *civara-bhattam* 'robe and food', *mālā-vilepanam* 'garlands and ointment', *yuga-naṅgalam* 'yoke and plough', *vadha-bandhanam* 'flogging and binding'.
- k). Religious and philosophical words: *nāma-rūpam* 'name and form', *rāga-dosa-mohā* 'lust, hatred and infatuation', *abhiṇṇā-domanassā* 'covetousness and discontent'.
- l). Most of the numerals are dvanda samāsa: *dvādasā* 'two and ten', *pañcadasa* 'five and ten', *caturāsīti* 'four and eighty'.

128. Number and gender of a dvanda samāsa. A dvanda samāsa may be in the singular or in the plural: *asi-cammaṃ* 'sword and shield', *candima-suriyā* 'moon and sun'.

The number of the samāsa does not say anything about the number of each member. *Samāna-brāhmaṇā* may mean *samaṇo ca brāhmaṇo ca*, *samaṇā ca brāhmaṇo ca*, *samaṇo ca brāhmaṇā ca*, *samaṇā ca brāhmaṇā ca*. The number of each member must be understood from the context.

- a). In general a dvanda samāsa is in the plural when it is multiplicity and not collectivity that is emphasized: *satta rattin-divāni* 'seven nights and seven days', *hemanta-gimhīsu* 'in winter and in summer'.
- b). A dvanda samāsa is in the plural when it indicates human and divine beings: *deva-manussā* 'gods and men', *Aṅga-māgadā* 'Angas and Magadhas'. The only exceptions seem to be *dāsi-dāsam* 'maid servant and man servant' and *putta-bhāriyam* 'son and wife'.
- c). A dvanda samāsa made up of nouns indicating animals is sometimes in the singular and sometimes in the plural: *ajelakam / ajelakā* 'goats and sheep', *kukkuṭa-sūkaram / kukkuṭa-sūkarā* 'cocks and pigs'.

- d). Most of the other dvanda samāsa are in the singular. *mañca-pītham* 'couches and chairs', *nama-gottam* 'name and family'.
- e). A dvanda samāsa usually takes the gender of the last member: *pīti-sukham* 'joy and happiness', *dhamma-vinayo* 'doctrine and discipline', *nara-nāriyo* 'men and women', *nindā-roso* 'blame and anger', *gama-khattani* 'villages and fields'.
- f). When the dvanda samāsa is made up of adjectives, the samāsa agrees in gender and number with the noun it qualifies: *bhikkhū sama-samā* 'monks of exactly the same number', *khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadāni* 'the lesser and minor precepts'.
- g). There is no strict rule with regard to the order of the words in a dvanda samāsa. Yet as first member of the samāsa we more easily find the word with the smaller number of syllables, or the word which begins with a vowel and ends in -a, or the masculine and neuter nouns ending in -i / -u: *dhamma-vinayo*, *gihi-pabbajikā*, *andhaka-makasā*. Further when the two words indicate two events that follow each other in time, the order of the words is the natural one: *jāti-jaram*, *jāti-maranam*.

Kammadhāraya Samāsa

129. Kammadhāraya samāsa. A kammadhāraya samāsa is made up of two members of which the first modifies the second as an attributive adjective or as a modifying noun or as an adverb. The members that make up a kammadhāraya samāsa can be

- a). two nouns
- b). an adjective and a noun
- c). an adverb and a noun
- d). an adverb and an adjective

- e) a noun, an adjective, or an adverb followed by a noun or adjective, the whole samāsa being used adverbially.

From the syntactical point of view, a kammadhāraya samāsa can be

- 1). a noun compound if the second member of the samāsa is a noun or a word used as a noun;
- 2). an adjective compound if the second member of the samāsa is an adjective;
- 3). an adverb compound if the whole compound is used adverbially.

130. **Kammadhāraya samāsa made up of two nouns.** When a kammadhāraya samāsa is made up of two nouns, then the first member modifies the second either as an apposition or a second term of comparison.

- a). **Apposition:** a noun may modify another noun as an apposition in so far as one restricts the meaning of the other. *sālā-rukko* 'the sal tree', *viriyindriyam* 'the faculty of energy', *tejo-dhātu* 'the element of heat', *āvuso-vādena* 'with the word - brother'.
- b). **Comparison:** sometimes two nouns are joined together into a compound because the two of them express an implied simile. What is compared is put first in the samāsa while the second term of comparison is placed second. *purisūsabho* 'a bull-like-man i.e. a strong man', *akkhi-tāraka* 'star-like-eyes i.e. shining eyes', *cakka-ratanam* 'a gem-like-wheel i.e. a noble wheel'.
- c). Here must be classified also samāsa like *kusala-saṅkhāta* 'reckoned as meritorious', *brahma-bhūto* 'that has become like a brahman', *seṭṭha-sammato* 'known as the best', *saṅkha-līkhitam brahmacariyam* 'celibate life as pure as a shell'.
- d). A numeral noun is also used as an apposition to a noun with which it forms a samāsa: *visatī-manussā* 'twenty men'.

131. **Kammadhāraya samāsa made up of an adjective and a noun.** A kammadhāraya samāsa may be made up of a noun preceded by an attributive adjective. Such an adjective may be

- a). an ordinary adjective: *mahā-puriso* 'great man', *sabba-dānam* 'every gift', *pubba-jāti* 'former birth', *appa-lābho* 'little gain'.
- b). a participle: *jinna-koṇḍā* 'old herons', *nāta-manussā* 'well known people', *paluttha-makkaṭṭi* 'a burnt monkey', *damma-gavā* 'oxen to be tamed', *bhojja-yagu* 'congee to be eaten', *anavajja-padāni* 'blameless paths'.
- c). an adjective that denotes distinction or excellence is sometimes placed after the noun it qualifies: *Rāhula-baddho* 'Rahula the lucky one i.e. the lucky Rahula', *ratana-varo* 'noble gem', *muni-pavaro* 'the noble sage', *kamma-seṭṭham* 'the noblest action'.
- d). When it modifies a past participle, the adjective *pubba* is placed after the participle: *assuta-pubbā upamā* 'a simile not heard before', *āvāso anavuttha-pubbo* 'an abode not inhabited before', *dinna-pubbaṃ* 'something given before'.
- e). A kammadhāraya samāsa made up of a numeral adjective and a noun is often called *ḍigu samāsa*: *catur-itthiyo* 'four women', *pañca-kkhaṇḍhā* 'the five aggregates', *chaḷ-abhiyātiyo* 'the six classes'.

132. **Kammadhāraya samāsa made up of an adverb and a noun or adjective.** In this samāsa the first member is an adverb or an adverbial prefix: *micchā-cāro* 'wrong behaviour', *dvidhā-patho* 'a double road', *sakad-āgāmi* 'coming back once', *a-verena* 'without hatred', *vi-kāle* 'at the wrong time', *antarā-kathā* 'a chance conversation', *dugga* 'difficult to go', *sammā-patipanno* 'behaving rightly'.

Sometimes a kammadhāraya samāsa is used as an adverb. *ubhato-pakkham* 'on both sides', *digga-rattam* 'for a long time', *ati-velam* 'greatly', *theyya-saṅkhātam* 'thievishly', *catugguṇam* 'fourfold'.

Sometimes the idea of fullness or completeness is conveyed with a kammadhāraya samāsa built up with a past participle preceded by an adverb and used adverbially. Both the past participle and the verb of the sentence are derived from the same root: *su-niggahitaṃ niggahāti* 'he overcomes with a complete overcoming i.e. he overcomes completely', *sabba-santharim santharivā* 'having completely spread', *suppabuddham pabujjhanti* 'they are fully enlightened', *suvisodhitaṃ visodheti* 'he cleans fully'.

T a p p u r i s a S a m ā s a

133. Tappurisa samāsa. A tappurisa samāsa is made up of two members of which the first depends on the second as a noun or pronoun in any case except the nominative and the vocative. The second member of the samāsa may be a noun or an adjective and thus the whole tappurisa samāsa may be used as a noun or as an adjective. In a few cases the samāsa is used also as an adverb.

134. The first member of a tappurisa samāsa.

- a). The first member of a tappurisa samāsa is a noun or pronoun in its stem form which, if used separately, would be in one of the following cases:

Accusative: *loka-vidū* 'he who knows the world', *pāra-gū* 'he who has gone to the other shore', *bhaya-dassino* 'those who see danger'.

Instrumental: *sīla-sampanno* 'endowed with virtue', *patha-gamanam* 'going by the proper path', *Buddha-desito* 'preached by the Buddha'.

Ablative: *jāla-mutto* 'freed from the net', *sara-parittānam* 'protection from arrows', *yogakkhemam* 'freedom from bonds'.

Genitive: *bhikkhu-saṅgho* 'the assembly of the monks', *loka-nātho* 'the lord of the world', *dukkha-samudayo* 'the arising of suffering'.

Locative: *antalikkha-carō* 'moving in the sky', *appamāda-rato* 'delighting in diligence', *āsana-kusalo* 'skilled in allotting the seats'.

- b). In some compounds the first member has retained the case ending.

Accusative: *antam-karo* 'who puts an end', *attam-tapo* 'who causes suffering to oneself', *sabbam-jaho* 'who has left everything', *hadayaṃ-gamā* 'touching the heart', *kālam-kato* 'that has accomplished his time', *vasaṃ-gato* 'that has gone into the power of'.

Genitive: *vanas-pati* 'lord of the forest i.e. tree', *gavam-pati* 'lord of the cattle i.e. bull', *disam-pati* 'lord of the regions i.e. king'.

Locative: *pubbe-nivāso* 'former existence', *majjhe-kalyāṇa* 'beautiful in the middle', *manasi-kāro* 'attention', *ante-vāsi* 'pupil', *jagati-padeso* 'a spot in the world', *nabasi-gama* 'moving in the sky'.

135. The second member of a tappurisa samāsa. The second member of a tappurisa samāsa may be:

- a). an ordinary noun: *amata-padam* 'way to immortality', *giri-guhā* 'a hill cave', *rukkha-mūlam* 'the root of the tree'.
- b). an action noun: *dukkha-nirodho* 'destruction of suffering', *thera-vādo* 'the doctrine of the elders', *adinnādānam* 'stealing', *ceto-vimutti* 'the emancipation of the mind', *anta-kiriyā* 'putting an end'.
- c). an agent noun: *go-ghātako* 'killer of cows', *mettā-vihārī* 'abiding in kindness', *cakka-vattī* 'he who wields the wheel', *maccu-hāyī* 'victorious over death', *bhūta-vādī* 'he who speaks the truth', *dhamma-dhara* 'he who knows the doctrine by heart'.

Some of these agent nouns are used only at the end of a tappurisa samāsa:

-ga: *sangātigo* 'gone beyond the fetters', *yathākammūpago* 'going according to one's deeds'.

-ja: *vāri-jo* 'born in water i.e. fish', *yonī-jo* 'born from the womb i.e. noble', *muddha-ja* 'born from the head i.e. hair'

-da: *āloka-do* 'giver of light', *anna-do* 'giver of food', *bala-do* 'giver of strength'.

-tṭha: *dammattho* 'grounded on the doctrine', *gahatthā* 'householders'

-pa: *majja-po* 'drinker of alcohol', *pada-po* 'drinker at the foot i.e. tree', *dhenu-po* 'drinker of milk i.e. calf'

-pa: *go-po* 'protector of the cows i.e. cowherd'

-gū: *addha-gū* 'traveler', *pāra-gū* 'gone to the other shore'

-ññū: *mattaññū* 'knowing discretion', *sabbaññū* 'knowing all'.

vidū: *sabba-vidū* 'he who knows everything', *loka-vidū* 'knower of the world'.

-bhū: *uttamanga-bhū* 'what exists on the highest part i.e. the hair', *sabbābhibhū* 'overcoming everything'.

-chida: *taṇhacchido* 'cutting off craving'

-nuda: *tamo-nudo* 'dispelling darkness'.

d). An adjective: *pathavi-samo* 'similar to the earth', *devaññatāro* 'one of the gods', *loka-jetṭho* 'the best person in the world'.

e). A numeral: *gāthā-sataṃ* 'a hundred stanzas', *bahūni vassa-sahassāni* 'many thousand of years'.

f). A participle: *dviha-mato* 'two days dead', *citta-kato* 'made by the mind', *bhaya-tajjito* 'urged by fear', *sabbayoga-visamyutto* 'free from all ties', *ratha-vinīto* 'trained for the chariot', *chamā-nikkhattaṃ* 'thrown on the ground'

g) *gata*: the participle *gata* is often used at the end of a tappurisa samāsa in a variety of meanings: 'gone to, reached, relating to, concerning, gone into the power of, existing as, belonging to', etc.: *raho-gato* 'gone into solitude', *kāya-gatā satī* 'attention directed to the body', *avijja-gato* 'fallen

into error', *hattha-gato* 'being in the hands of', *āpo-gataṃ* 'whatever is water'.

h). A future participle passive: *manasi-karaṇīyā dhammā* 'the elements ought to be kept in mind', *paṇḍita-vedanīyo* 'that should be understood by the wise', *maggo pīti-gamaniyo* 'the path that ought to lead to happiness', *maccu-dheyyaṃ* 'what ought to be under death i.e. the realm of death'.

Bahubbīhi Samāsa

136. **Bahubbīhi samāsa.** A bahubbīhi samāsa is a noun compound turned into an adjective. Hence the kammadhāraya samāsa that end in a noun can be turned into adjectives to qualify a noun; v.g. *pāpicchā* 'evil desire' is turned into an adjective agreeing with the noun it qualifies: *pāpiccho bhikkhu* 'a monk who has evil desires'. Similarly *taruṇavaccho* 'young calf' becomes *taruṇavacchā gāvi* 'a cow that has a young calf'; *antima-sarīraṃ* 'the last body' become *antimasarīro puriso* 'a man that carries the last body'.

Sometimes even a tappurisa samāsa and, in a few cases, even a dvanda samāsa are turned into adjectives: *samaggārāmo* 'delight in mutual concord' and *Gotamo samaggārāmo* 'Gotama whose delight is in mutual concord', *atṭhika-saṅkhālīka* 'a chain of bones' and *atṭhika-saṅkhālīkaṃ sarīraṃ* 'the body with its chain of bones', *rajo-jallam* 'dust and dirt' and *rajo-jallakassa* 'to one who is covered with dust and dirt'.

From the last example given it is clear that while the bahubbīhi samāsa are essentially adjectives, they can sometimes be used as noun: *su-paṇṇo* 'the one that has four wings i.e. a bird', *atthamso* 'the thing that has eight facets i.e. a gem'.

137. a). In most cases a noun compound is turned into an adjective simply with the addition of the suffix -a, -ā, -am according as the adjective qualifies a masculine, a feminine or a neuter noun: *ucchinna-mūla* becomes *rukkho ucchina-mūlo* 'a tree whose root has been cut off', *avijja*

ucchinna-mūlā 'ignorance whose root has been cut off'; *doso* becomes neuter as *tiṇa-dosāni khetṭāni* 'weeds are the blemish of fields'.

- b). Sometimes the suffix *-ka / -aka / -ika* is added for the masculine and neuter, and *-ikā* for the feminine: *bhīruka-jātiko* 'one who is of a fearful nature', *sa-devako* 'together with its gods', *ekasālāke ārāme* 'in a park with a single hall', *sa-bhikkhuko āvāso* 'a dwelling that has monks', *cātumahārājikā devā* 'the gods with their four great kings'.
- c). Some other suffixes are found in a few cases: *pāpa-kammino* 'those whose actions are evil', *dighaṅguli* 'she who has long fingers', *evam-jacco* 'of such a birth', *ratti nandi-mukhī* 'the night with its bright face'.
138. Kammadhāraya samāsa turned into bahubbīhi samāsa.
- a). A kammadhāraya samāsa made up of two nouns of which the first is in apposition to the second is used often as a bahubbīhi samāsa. *jīvitam maraṇantam* 'life that has death as its end i.e. life ending in death', *kāyam taca-pariyantam* 'the body that is bounded by the skin', *atta-dīpā viharatha* *atta-saraṇā* 'abide taking the self as your light and as your refuge'.
- b). A kammadhāraya samāsa, consisting of a noun and an adjective used as a noun, can be turned into a bahubbīhi samāsa. The adjectives are those which indicate a quality in a high degree, like *settha*, *parama*, *vara*, *pubbaṅgama*, *pabbutika*, *uttama*, *pamukha*, etc.: *mano-pubbaṅgamā dhammā* *mano-setthā* 'factors that have the mind as the first and as the best i.e. mind is the first and the best of all factors', *samtutṭhi-paramam dhanam* 'contentment is the best wealth', *Buddha-pamukho bhikkhu sangho* 'the assembly of the monks with the Buddha at their head', *anāsanna-varā eta* 'these are best when not near'.

The same construction is used with cardinal numerals: *Ānando attā-dutiyo* 'Ananda with his self as second i.e. with one companion',

puriso taṇhā-dutiyo 'a man full of craving', *atta-catuttho* 'with three companions'.

- c). A kammadhāraya samāsa consisting of an attributive adjective and a noun: *vatthāni dīgha-dasāni* 'robes with long fringes', *vāṇijo appasattho mahaddhano* 'a merchant with a small caravan but with great wealth', *pāpa-kammā* 'those who have an evil character'.
- d). A kammadhāraya samāsa consisting of a numeral and a noun: *eka-bhattiko* 'one who takes one meal a day', *tevijjo* 'he who is endowed with the threefold knowledge', *kuṇḍaro satṭhi-hāyano* 'an elephant sixty years old'.
- e). A kammadhāraya consisting of a past participle and a noun: *okkhitta-cakkhu* 'he who goes with eyes down', *khīṇāsavo* 'he who is free from defilements', *akata-pāpo* 'he who has done no evil', *aṅkita-kannako* 'one with perforated ears'.
- f). A kammadhāraya consisting of an adverb and a noun: *a-soko* 'without sorrow', *micchā-dīṭṭhiko* 'he who has wrong views', *evam-silo* 'of such a virtue', *sattā su-vaṇṇā* 'beings of an evil appearance', *su-vaco* 'one who has pleasant words'.
- g). *Matta* is often used at the end of a bahubbīhi samāsa in the sense of 'in the measure of, as much as, as little as, merely, only': *marāṇa-mattam dukkham* 'a pain as great as death', *saddhā-mattam pema-mattam* 'only faith and love', *pañca-mattāni bhikkhu-satāni* 'five hundred monks only'.
139. Tappurisa samāsa turned into bahubbīhi samāsa.
- a). A tappurisa samāsa is turned into a bahubbīhi samāsa in the usual way: *rukkha-mulam* 'the foot of a tree' become *rukkha-mūliko* 'he who sits at the foot of a tree', similarly *paññā-nirodiko* 'leading to the destruction of wisdom', *nibbāna-manaso naro* 'a man with his mind on nibbāna', *āhāratṭhitiko samussayo* 'a body that is supported by food',

sabbe jarā-dhammā 'all are liable to old age', *te cavana-dhammā* 'they are bound to fall away', *phenupamam kāyaṃ* 'the body that is like a mass of foam', *sukha-kāmaṇi bhutāni* 'beings bent on happiness'.

- b) Sometimes the *saṃāsā* implies a comparison that is not fully expressed: *kumāro go-pakhumo* 'the child with the eyelashes of a cow i.e. with eyelashes like those of a cow', *sīha-pubbakāyo* 'the child with the front part of the body like that of a lion', *cakkena khura-pariyantena* 'with a discus that has the edge as sharp as a razor', *govatiko kukkuravatiko* 'he who behaves like a cow or like a dog'.
- c). A word which expresses a part of the human body and which otherwise would be in the locative case, in a *bahubbīhi saṃāsā* is found at the end of the compound: *patta-hatthā bhikkhū* 'monks with bowls in their hands', *luddā lohita-pāṇino* 'hunters with blood on their hands', *brāhmaṇo paṇka-danto rajassiro* 'a brahmin with dirt between his teeth and with dust on his head', *sattā apparajakkhā mahārajakkhā* 'beings with little dust in their eyes and beings with much dust in their eyes'.

The same construction is used with *mano*, *antara: pīti-mano* 'with joy in his heart', *dosantaro* 'with hatred within', *yānena itthiyuttena purisantarena* 'on a cart drawn by two cows with a bull in between'.

140. *Dvanda saṃāsā* turned into *bahubbīhi saṃāsā*. There are only a few examples of *dvanda saṃāsā* turned into *bahubbīhi saṃāsā*. The change is effected either by turning the *saṃāsā* into an adjective or by adding the suffix *-ka / -ika / -in*, or by prefixing *sa-*: *salākāyo vaṇṇāvannāyo katvā* 'having made the votes of various colours', *antānantikā* 'those who hold both the finiteness and the infinity of the world', *sarīraṃ sa-mansalohitaṃ* 'the body with its flesh and blood'.

Governing Compounds

141. **Governing compounds.** A governing compound is one in which the first member governs the second, not in case, but in meaning. The first member of a governing compound is a preposition or a prepositional adverb. The whole compound is turned into an adjective like a *bahubbīhi saṃāsā* and is used either as an adjective or as an adverb: *ati-devo* 'he who is above the gods', *ajjhataṃ* 'inwardly', *anacchariyā gāthā* 'stanzas uttered on the spur of the moment' (*anacchariya* is made up of *anu* + *accharā*), *eso anudhammo viññūgarahito* 'this one is blamed by the wise in accordance with the doctrine', *anu-vassam* 'yearly', *pari-panthe* 'in ambush', *paṭi-lomam* 'against the hair i.e. in reverse order', *paṭi-sotaṃ* 'against the current', *paṭi-sote* 'in a place against the current', *uddham-soto* 'he who goes against the current', *tiro-dussam* 'across the curtain', *bahi-dvāre* 'outside the gate', *saha-dhammiko pañho* 'a question connected with the doctrine', *heṭṭhā-mañcam* 'the part below the bed', *heṭṭhā-mañcato* 'from below the bed'.

There are also a few governing compounds whose first member is an action noun: *atireka-pañcamāsako parikkhāro* 'requirement worth more than five coins', *atireka-chārattam* 'more than six nights', *ānaka-tiyojanam* 'less than three yojanas'.

Syntactical Compounds

142. **Syntactical compounds.** Two or more independent words are sometimes joined together owing to the fact that they have often been used together in a sentence: such compounds are called syntactical compounds.

- a). A past gerund and a noun: *viceyya-danaṃ* 'a gift given with discrimination', *paticca-samuppādo* 'the arising on account of a previous cause', *aveccappasādena* 'with a perfect faith', *sāṅkheyya-kāro* 'acting with reflection', *abhihiyya-cāri* 'going about victorious', *avissa-vādi* 'speaking with definiteness'.

- b). A past gerund and a past participle: *uddissa-katam mamsam* 'meat prepared purposely', *adhicca-samuppanno* 'arising without a cause'.
- c). Some other syntactical compounds: *aham-kāro* 'selfishness', *asmi-māno* 'pride', *atthi-bhāvo* 'existence', *ehi-passiko dhammo* 'the doctrine that invites to come and see' (*ehi* + *passa* are imperatives), *ehi-bhadantiko* 'he who says: come, sir', *tiṭṭha-bhadantiko* 'he who says: stop, sir', *ehi-bhikkhu-pabbajjā* 'reception into the wandering life with the formula: come, O monk', *ehi-svāgata-vādino* 'those who say: come, welcome', *aññad-atthu* 'certainly', *mā-ghāto* 'a day when there is no slaughter', *iti-hāso* 'history', *iti-vādo* 'tradition', *iti-vuttaka* 'sayings', *akiñcano* 'one who has nothing'.

CHAPTER X

VERBAL COMPOUNDS

Verbal roots are often combined with one or more prepositions or with an adverb, and sometimes even with a noun or an adjective. These words modify the fundamental meaning of the verb, v.g. *gacchati* 'goes', *ā-gacchati* 'goes back i.e. comes', *apa-gacchati* 'goes away', *ni-gacchati* 'goes down', *sam-gacchati* 'goes with', *ud-gacchati* > *uggacchati* 'goes up', etc.

143. Verbs combined with prepositions.

ati: beyond, across, very much

<i>atikkamati</i>	goes beyond
<i>atigacchati</i>	overcomes
<i>aticarati</i>	transgresses
<i>atibhuñjati</i>	eats too much

adhi: over, on, to, in, greatly

<i>adhigacchati</i>	comes to, acquires
<i>adhigaṇhāti</i>	surpasses
<i>adhiṭṭhāti</i>	stands on, concentrates
<i>adhibhavati</i>	overcomes

anu: after, along, according to

anugacchati goes after, follows

anukaroti imitates

anubhavati undergoes

anuganhāti has pity on

apa: away, off, from, forth

apacināti picks from, respects

apanudati drives away

apaloketi looks ahead

api: on

apidahāti puts on, covers up

abhi: towards, against, over, all round, greatly

abhikkamati goes forward

abhijānāti knows fully

abhinandati rejoices

abhibhavati overcomes

ava or *o*: down, away

avakirati casts out

otarati goes down

ā: near, back, to, along, all round, completely

āgacchati goes back, comes

ākirati strews over

āroceti speaks to, informs

ud: out of, away, up, upwards

uddharati lifts up

uggaṇhāti takes up, learns

upa: on, upon, up to, near, altogether

upagacchati goes to, approaches

upatthahati stands near

ni: down

nikkhipati lays down

niḡacchati goes down

niggaṇhāti restrains

nir: out, forth

nikkhamati goes forth

niddisati points out

nibbindati turns away, becomes weary

nīyyāti goes out

pa: forth, forward, out, up, greatly

pakāsati shines forth

pakkamāti steps forward

pacchindati breaks up

paggaṇhāti stretches forth, takes up

paṭi: towards, against, back, opposite

paṭikkhipati throws back, rejects

paccakkhāti speaks against, refuses

pacceṭi comes back

paṭissuṇāti assents, promises.

para: on to, over, through

parāmasati touches, holds on to

parājeti defeats

pari: all round, away, off, completely

parikaroti surrounds

parikīlamati gets tired out

paricarati moves out

parijānāti knows accurately

vi: asunder, away, down

vikīrati scatters about

viggaphāti quarrels

vicarati moves about

vipassati sees clearly

sam: together, along with, fully

samyuñjati joins together

saṅkhipati collects

saṅganhāti contains

samsarati moves about continually

sañjānāti knows well

N.B. Some verbal compounds are built up with more than one preposition. *adhi-ā-vasati* > *ajjhāvasati* 'inhabits', *sam-anu-passati* > *samanupassati* 'sees', *sam-ud-ā-carati* > *samudācarati* 'behaves toward'.

When *sam* is combined with *karoti*, the consonant -s- is inserted: *sam-karoti* > *sam-s-karoti* > *saṅkharoti* 'puts together'.

144. Verbs combined with adverbs.

anto-vasati inhabits

alam-karoti adorns

āvi-karoti makes clear

āvi-bhavati becomes clear

pātu-karoti

manifests

pātu-bhavati

becomes manifest

purakkharoti

puts in front, honours

145. Verbs combined with an adjective or a noun. Some adjectives and nouns are combined with verbs in a variety of ways: *antara* remains unchanged in *antaradhāyati* 'disappears'; *attha* is used in the accusative in *atthaṅgacchati* 'goes home i.e. sets'. Some adjectives and nouns change their last vowel to -i / -ī when combined with *bhavati* / *karoti*: *dubbali-karoti* 'weakens', *bahuli-karoti* 'makes much of', *vasi-karoti* 'subjects', *vasi-bhavati* 'goes into the power of', *vinali-karoti* 'destroys', *sacchi-karoti* 'realizes', *tunhi-bhavati* 'remains silent', *atthi-karoti* 'understands', *sīti-bhavati* 'becomes tranquil'.

CHAPTER XI

EVOLUTION OF THE VOWELS

146. The vowel system. The Pali and Sanskrit languages are very similar. Hence the evolution of Pali must be treated with reference to Vedic and Classical Sanskrit.

The Sanskrit vowel system is as follows:

two pure vowels: *a, ā*

seven sonant vowels: *i, ī, u, ū, ṛ, ṝ, ḷ*

four diphtongs: *e, o, ai, au*

In pronunciation *e* and *o* are pure vowels, but according to their formation, they are compound vowels. In sandhi they are split up into *ay* and *av*.

The main characteristics of the evolution of the vowel system from Sanskrit into Pali is the elimination of the sonant vowels *ṛ, ṝ, ḷ*, and of the diphtongs *ai* and *au*. Therefore the Pali vowel system is as follows:

two pure vowels: *a, ā*

four sonant vowels: *i, ī, u, ū*

two diphtongs: *e, o*

Though the vowels *e* and *o* are made up of two elements, yet they are pronounced as pure vowels.

Sanskrit vowels preserved in Pali:

Sanskrit	Pali			
<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>phala</i>	<i>phala</i>	fruit
		<i>sparśa</i>	<i>phassa</i>	touch
<i>ā</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>agāra</i>	<i>agāra</i>	house
		<i>rājā</i>	<i>rājā</i>	king
<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>jāti</i>	<i>jāti</i>	birth
		<i>dina</i>	<i>dina</i>	day
<i>ī</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>sīla</i>	<i>sīla</i>	virtue
		<i>nadī</i>	<i>nadī</i>	river
<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>pudgala</i>	<i>puggala</i>	person
		<i>dhenu</i>	<i>dhenu</i>	cow
<i>ū</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>rūpa</i>	<i>rūpa</i>	form
		<i>abhibū</i>	<i>abhibū</i>	conqueror
<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>vega</i>	<i>vega</i>	hurry
		<i>ime</i>	<i>ime</i>	these
<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>loka</i>	<i>loka</i>	world
		<i>mano</i>	<i>mano</i>	mind

147. Elimination of *ṛ* and *ḷ*. *ṛ* was a complex phoneme since it included both vocalic and consonant element. Hence it was the first to undergo changes. This Sanskrit vowel came to be represented in Pali by different vowels.

a). *ṛ* > *a*:

<i>kṛntati</i>	<i>kantati</i>	cuts
<i>kṛpaṇa</i>	<i>kaṇaṇa</i>	poor

<i>grhnāti</i>	<i>gaṇhāti</i>	takes
<i>ghṛta</i>	<i>ghata</i>	butter
<i>tṛtiya</i>	<i>tatṛiya</i>	third
<i>nṛtyati</i>	<i>naccati</i>	dances
<i>bhṛta</i>	<i>bhata</i>	fed
<i>bhṛti</i>	<i>bhatī</i>	hire
<i>mṛta</i>	<i>mata</i>	dead
<i>mṛtyu</i>	<i>maccu</i>	death
<i>mṛśati</i>	<i>masati</i>	touches
<i>mṛṣṭa</i>	<i>maṭṭha</i>	polished
<i>vṛka</i>	<i>vaka</i>	wolf
<i>vṛtta</i>	<i>vaṭṭa</i>	round
<i>vṛsabha</i>	<i>vasabha</i>	bull
<i>vyāpṛta</i>	<i>vyāvaṭa</i>	busy
<i>nissṛta</i>	<i>nissata</i>	freed
<i>smṛta</i>	<i>sata</i>	remembered
<i>hṛdaya</i>	<i>hadaya</i>	heart
b). <i>r > i:</i>		
<i>rddhi</i>	<i>iddhi</i>	power
<i>rṣi</i>	<i>iṣi</i>	sage
<i>kṛmi</i>	<i>kimi</i>	worm
<i>kṛśa</i>	<i>kisa</i>	lean
<i>kṛśyate</i>	<i>kissati</i>	becomes lean
<i>tṛṇa</i>	<i>tiṇa</i>	grass
<i>dṛśa</i>	<i>diśa</i>	similar
<i>dṛśad</i>	<i>nisadā</i>	grinder

<i>dṛṣṭi</i>	<i>ditṭhi</i>	sight
<i>bhṛṅgāra</i>	<i>bhinkāra</i>	golden vase
<i>vṛścika</i>	<i>vicchika</i>	scorpion
<i>śṛgāla</i>	<i>sigāla</i>	jackal
<i>srpātika</i>	<i>sipātika</i>	beak
<i>smṛgavera</i>	<i>singivera</i>	pepper
<i>spṛhayati</i>	<i>pihayati</i>	desires

c). *r > u:*

<i>rju</i>	<i>uju</i>	straight
<i>ṛtu</i>	<i>utu</i>	season
<i>ṛsabha</i>	<i>usabha</i>	bull
<i>pṛcchati</i>	<i>pucchati</i>	asks
<i>pṛthu</i>	<i>puthu</i>	broad
<i>mṛdaṅga</i>	<i>mutiṅga</i>	drum
<i>mṛṇāla</i>	<i>muḷāla</i>	lotus
<i>mṛdu</i>	<i>mudu</i>	soft
<i>mṛsā</i>	<i>musā</i>	lie
<i>mṛsyati</i>	<i>mussati</i>	forgets
<i>śṛṇoti</i>	<i>sunoti</i>	hears

d). *r > a, i:*

<i>ṛkṣa</i>	<i>accha</i>	<i>ikkha</i>	bear
<i>ṛṇa</i>	<i>an-aṇa</i>	<i>iṇa</i>	debt
<i>kṛccha</i>	<i>kasira</i>	<i>kiccha</i>	painful
<i>kṛsna</i>	<i>kaṇha</i>	<i>kīṇha</i>	black
<i>mṛga</i>	<i>maga</i>	<i>miga</i>	animal and deer
<i>dhṛta</i>	<i>dhata</i>		firm

	<i>dhṛti</i>	<i>dhiti</i>	firmness
	<i>trpyate</i>	<i>tappati</i>	is satisfied
	<i>trpta</i>	<i>titta</i>	satisfied
e)	<i>r</i> > a, u.		
	<i>pr̥thivī</i>	<i>pathavi, pathavi</i>	earth
		<i>puthavi, puṭhavi, puthuvi</i>	earth
	<i>vr̥ta</i>	<i>vi-vaṭa</i>	opened
		<i>pari-vuta</i>	surrounded
	<i>vr̥tta</i>	<i>vatta</i>	duty
	<i>vr̥tti</i>	<i>vutti</i>	abiding
	<i>vr̥ddhi</i>	<i>vaddhi</i>	blessing
		<i>vuddhi, vuddhi</i>	growth
	<i>vr̥ṣti</i>	<i>vuṭṭhi</i>	rain
	<i>vr̥ṣta</i>	<i>vaṭṭa, vaṭṭha</i>	rained
	<i>ā-br̥hati</i>	<i>abbuhati/abbahati</i>	casts away
f)	<i>r</i> > u, i:		
	<i>pitṛ</i>	<i>pitu- (pitu-ghāṭaka)</i>	father
		<i>piti- (piti-ghāṭa)</i>	
	<i>bhr̥ātṛ</i>	<i>bhātu- (bhātuka)</i>	brother
		<i>bhāti- (bhāṭika)</i>	
	<i>mātṛ</i>	<i>mātu- (matu-ghāṭaka)</i>	mother
		<i>māti- (māti-pakkhato)</i>	
g)	<i>r</i> > e, i:		
	<i>gr̥dhu</i>	<i>giddha</i>	greedy
	<i>gr̥dhya</i>	<i>gedha</i>	greedy

h). *r* > e, a, i:

<i>gr̥ha</i>	<i>geha</i>	house
<i>rājagṛha</i>	<i>rājagaha</i>	Rajagaha
<i>gr̥hapati</i>	<i>gahapati</i>	householder
<i>a-gr̥ha</i>	<i>a-giha</i>	homeless

i). *r* > ra, ru:

<i>br̥hant</i>	<i>brahant</i>	broad
<i>br̥mhayati</i>	<i>brūheti</i>	increases

The vowel u has been lengthened since the niggahita has been dropped

j). *vr̥* > ru:

<i>prāvṛta</i>	<i>pāruta</i>	covered
<i>vr̥ksa</i>	<i>rukṣha</i>	tree

k). *r* > iru, aru:

ṛgveda *irubbedā / arubbedā* (these two words are found in the post-canonical literature).

N.B. There is no fixed principle according to which *r* is represented by a, i, u, e. But it seems clear that the choice of the vowel is often influenced by neighbouring sounds. The vowel a prevails after a guttural and u after a labial consonant: *kr̥paṇa* > *kapana*; *pr̥cchati* > *pucchati*. Further the vowel of a preceding or of a following syllable often assimilates the *r* to itself especially in words of two syllables: *mṛdu* > *mudu*, *ṛtu* > *utu*, *ṛddhi* > *iddhi*, *ṛṣi* > *isi*, *dhṛta* > *dhata*, *dhṛti* > *dhiti*

Sometimes the difference of vowel seems to be due to semantic difference, but it is difficult to give definite rules. Thus *miga* means 'deer', but in some cases it means also 'animal' as in *migarājā* 'the king of animals', *vālamigā* 'wild beasts'; likewise *maga* means both 'animal' and 'deer'.

The sonant *l* in *kṛpta* has been replaced by the vowel *u*: *kṛpta* > *kutta* 'arranged'

148. Elimination of the diphthongs.

- a). The process of elimination of the diphthongs had already started in Sanskrit where *ai* / *au* had been reduced to *e* / *o*, while *āi* / *āu* had become *ai* / *au*. This process was continued in Pali and thus *ai* / *au* were reduced to *e* / *o*: *vaira* > *vera* 'hatred', *mairī* > *metti* 'friendship', *taila* > *tela* 'oil', *rātrau* > *ratto* 'at night', *ausadha* > *osadha* 'medicine', *yauvana* > *yobbana* 'young man', *ubhau* > *ubho* 'both'.

The original nature of *e* / *o*, however, is evident in composition, since *e* / *o*, followed by a vowel, can be resolved into *ai* / *au* or *āi* / *āu*:

<i>so-aniya</i>	<i>sau-aniya</i>	<i>savaniya</i>	should be heard
<i>so-eti</i>	<i>sāu-eti</i>	<i>sāveti</i>	causes to hear
<i>ne-ana</i>	<i>nai-ana</i>	<i>nayana</i>	carrying
<i>ne-aka</i>	<i>nāi-aka</i>	<i>nāyaka</i>	leader

- b). The groups *ayi* / *avi* have developed into *e* by the elimination of the intervocalic *y* / *v*, and by the reduction of the diphthongs: *ayi* > *ai* > *e*, *avi* > *ai* > *e*. Similarly the groups *aya* / *ava* have developed into *e* / *o* respectively by reducing the final vowel and then eliminating the intervocalic consonant *aya* > *ayi* > *ai* > *e*, *ava* > *avu* > *au* > *o*:

<i>nayati</i>	<i>nayiti</i>	<i>naiti</i>	<i>neti</i>	leads
<i>sthavira</i>		<i>thaira</i>	<i>thera</i>	elder
<i>bhavissati</i>	<i>bhaissati</i>	<i>bhessati</i>	<i>hessati</i>	will be (<i>bh</i> loses its occlusion and becomes <i>h</i>)
<i>avatarati</i>	<i>autarati</i>	<i>otarati</i>		comes down
<i>bhavati</i>	<i>bhavuti</i>	<i>bhauti</i>	<i>hoti</i>	is
<i>trayas-trinsat</i>	<i>tettimsa</i>			thirteen

The group *ayu* becomes *o*: *mayura* > *mora* 'peacock'

Caturasīti develops into *ca-urasīti* > *corasīti* > *colasīti* > *cullasīti* > *cūlasīti* 'eighty-four'.

149. Evolution of the vowels. The Sanskrit vowels *ā*, *a*, *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, *e*, *o* are generally well preserved in Pali but sometimes they undergo changes with regard to their quality and their quantity due either to the structure of the syllable or the structure of the word

It is evident that in Pali the vowel *a* exercises a great influence on other vowels. This feature is already evident in Sanskrit. The three indo-European vowels *a*, *e*, *o* are often reduced to *a* in Sanskrit. In Pali the vowel *a* becomes even more common because of the tendency to declining most nouns and conjugating most verbs on the model of the stems in *a*. Thus *silavant* is declined like the stems in *a*, i.e. *silavanta* and *chid-* is conjugated as having the stem *chinda*

150. Changes of vowels due to the structure of the syllable. In Pali a syllable may contain either one or two syllabic instants or *mātrās*. A syllable with one syllabic instant or a short syllable ends in a short vowel, while a syllable with two syllabic instants or a long syllable ends either in a vowel that is long by nature or in a consonant making syllable with the previous vowel. Hence a syllable may contain

a short vowel in an open syllable: *pu-ri-sa*

or a short vowel in a closed syllable: *gan-tum*

or a long vowel in an open syllable: *pū-jā*

A closed syllable with a short vowel and an open syllable with a long vowel are equivalent since both have two syllabic instants. This equivalence explains several vowel changes when words pass from Sanskrit into Pali

- a). Where Sanskrit has a long vowel in a closed syllable, Pali has either a long vowel in an open syllable or a short vowel in a closed syllable:

<i>jīna</i>	<i>jinna</i>	decayed
<i>īvara</i>	<i>issara</i>	Isvara
<i>dīrgha</i>	<i>diḡha</i>	long
<i>prapta</i>	<i>patta</i>	reached
<i>akarsit</i>	<i>akasi</i>	did

Nevertheless there are instances in which a long vowel is found in a closed syllable: *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahmin', *Sākya* 'Sakya', *nahātvā* 'having bathed', *sātha* 'meaningful'. The use of the long vowel in a closed syllable seems to be due to the influence of the Sanskrit spelling on the scribes of the Tripitaka.

- b). Where Sanskrit has a long vowel in a closed syllable, Pali has either a long vowel in an open syllable or a short vowel in a closed syllable:

<i>rājā</i>	<i>rājā</i>	king
<i>srūyate</i>	<i>sūyati/suyyati</i>	is heard
<i>dīyate</i>	<i>dīyati/diyyati</i>	is given

Sometimes a short vowel in a closed syllable is nasalized

<i>harsati</i>	<i>hamsati</i>	is glad
<i>matkuna</i>	<i>maṅkuna</i>	bug

- c). Where Sanskrit has a short vowel in a closed syllable, Pali has either a long vowel in an open syllable or a short vowel in a closed syllable:

<i>darśayati</i>	<i>dasseti</i>	shows
<i>simha</i>	<i>sīha</i>	lion
<i>vimsati</i>	<i>visati</i>	twenty
<i>saṃraga</i>	<i>sārāga</i>	passion
<i>saṃrambha</i>	<i>sārambha</i>	anger

- d). Sometimes the diphthongs *e*, *ai*, *o*, *au* are reduced to *i*, *u* in a closed syllable or in a syllable that is made closed by doubling the consonant that follows the vowel

<i>aiśvarya</i>	<i>issariya</i>	lordship
<i>aśrauṣṇa</i>	<i>assumha</i>	we heard
<i>gonam</i>	<i>gunnam</i>	of cattle
<i>manojña</i>	<i>manuñña</i>	pleasing

- e). Sometimes a group of consonants is split up by means of a vowel, and a long preceding vowel is shortened so that the number of syllabic instants of the whole word remains the same:

<i>sūrya</i>	<i>suriya</i>	sun
<i>ārya</i>	<i>ariya</i>	noble
<i>tikṣṇa</i>	<i>tikhiṇa</i>	sharp
<i>īrya</i>	<i>iriya</i>	posture
<i>sūkṣma</i>	<i>sukhuma</i>	subtle

- f). But there are also several cases in which the Sanskrit vowels *i*, *u* in a closed syllable and the vowels *ī*, *ū* in an open syllable become *e* and *o* in Pali:

<i>viśṇu</i>	<i>veṇhu</i>	Viśnu
<i>ramaniya</i>	<i>ramaneyya</i>	delightful
<i>īdṛśa</i>	<i>eddisa > edisa</i>	like this
<i>jambūnada</i>	<i>jambonnada > jambonada</i>	gold
<i>śundā</i>	<i>soṇḍā</i>	elephant trunk

151. Change of vowels due to the structure of the word.

- a. Final vowels. The final vowels were usually weak in pronunciation and hence they were shortened: *akārsit* > *akāsi* > *akasi* he did.

- b). Influence of the accent. In words of three or more syllables, when the first syllable had the accent, the vowel of the second syllable was often reduced and sometimes even dropped:

<i>candramas</i>	<i>candimā</i>	moon
<i>madhyama</i>	<i>majjhima</i>	middle
<i>jāgarati</i>	<i>jāgrati</i> > <i>jaggati</i>	watches
<i>drakṣyati</i>	<i>dakkhati</i> > <i>dakkhuti</i>	will see

The influence of the accent is evident also in the shortening of the final vowel in some words: *asau* > *asu*, *hetos* > *hetu*, *kṛtvas* > *khattum*, *sadyas* > *sajju*.

152. Further changes.

- a). Sometimes a vowel influences another vowel in the preceding or in the following syllable:

<i>iṣu</i>	<i>usu</i>	arrow
<i>ikṣu</i>	<i>ujju</i>	sugar cane
<i>tamisrā</i>	<i>timissā</i>	darkness
<i>asūyā</i>	<i>usūyā</i>	jealousy

- b). Sometimes the nature of a consonant brings about a change in the vowel that follows it in so far as *u* appears in preference after a labial and *i* after a palatal consonant: *majjati* with the prefix *ni* becomes *nimujjati* 'plunges', *jugupsate* > *jigucchati*. In *bhuyas* > *bhuyyo* the vowel *i* is due to the influence of the following *y*. In *madhyama* > *majjhima* the change of the *a* to *i* is due both to the influence of the accent and of the palatal consonant that precedes it.

- c). Sometimes *ya*, *yā*, *va*, *vā* are reduced. In grammar this change is called *samprasāraṇa*

ya, *yā* are reduced to *i*:

<i>styāna</i>	<i>thina</i>	sloth
<i>vi-atināmeti</i>	<i>vyatināmeti</i>	<i>vitināmeti</i> spends

va, *vā* are reduced to *u* and then this vowel becomes *o* before two consonants:

<i>svapna</i>	<i>supina</i>	
	<i>suppa</i> > <i>soppa</i>	dream
<i>svasti</i>	<i>sotthi</i>	blessing
<i>śvabhra</i>	<i>sobbha</i>	pool
<i>svastyayana</i>	<i>sotthāna</i>	greeting
<i>śvāna</i>	has both <i>sona</i> and <i>suvāna</i>	dog

In the formation of *sovatthika* from *svasti* we have the insertion of the vowel *u* and then its lengthening to *o*; *svasti* > *suvasti* > *suvatthi+ka* > *sovatthika*. The same is the formation of *sovaggika* < *svarga*; *svaṇṇa* has *suvāṇṇa*, *sovaṇṇa* and also *sonṇa*.

Sometimes even *ve*, *vi* are reduced in the same manner: *dvesa* > *doso*; *svid* > *su*, *sudam*.

- d). *aya*, *āya* are contracted to *ā*.

<i>svastyayana</i>	<i>sotthāna</i>	goodness
<i>upasthayaka</i>	<i>upaṭṭhāka</i>	attendant
<i>pratisamlayana</i>	<i>paṭisallāna</i>	meditation
<i>vehāyasa</i>	<i>vehāsa</i>	sky

Sometimes the past gerund ending in *āya* has been contracted in the same way: *abhiññāya* > *abhiññāya/abhiññā*, *upādāya/upādā*

- e). A vowel is often inserted to split up groups of consonants.

<i>ṭṣṇā</i>	<i>taṣiṇā/taṇhā</i>	greed
<i>garhati</i>	<i>garahati</i>	blames
<i>sūkṣma</i>	<i>sukhuma</i>	subtle

When a vowel is inserted in the declension of a noun, the preceding syllable is not shortened: *rājāś > rājino*.

- f). The similarity with the suffix *iya* may account for the shortening of the vowels in *dvitīya > dutiya*, *tṛtīya > tatiya*
- g). Sometimes the vowel *u*, on account of its open pronunciation, has become *a*: *āyusmant > āyasmant*, *punar > puna/pana*.
- h). In the declension in all the cases, with the exception of the nominative and the vocative, the final vowel of the stem is lengthened in the plural: *jātinam, jātihi, jātisu, dhenūhi, dhenūnam, dhenūsu*.

153. Correspondence of the Sanskrit and the Pali vowels:

Sanskrit	Pali	Sanskrit	Pali
a	a	phala, sparśa	phala, phassa
	ā	ādarśa, alinda	ādāsa, ālinda
	i	carama, tamisrā	carima, timissā
	u	tumala, dabhnoti	tumula, dubbhati
ā	ā	ādi, ākāra	ādi, ākāra
	a	kārṣāpaṇa, avagādha	kahāpaṇa, ogadha
		ekānta, ārya	ekanta, ariya
	o	dhavati	dhovati
i	i	itara, atithi	itara, atithi
	ī	viṃsati, siṃha	vīsati, siha
	a	diksita, puskarini	dakkhita/dikkhita
			pokkharani
	u	gairika, śiśu	geruka, susu
	e	vicca, niṣka	vecca, nekkha
		idāni	dāni

ī	ī	dīpa, dīrgha	dīpa, dīgha
	i	tīrna, alīka	tinna, alika
	e	darśaniya	dassaneyya
u	u	kusala, lubdha	kusala, luddha
	ū	ud-hanti	ūhanti
	i	kutumbika,	kuṭumbika/kutimbika,
		bhuyas	bhiyyo
	a	āyusmant, aguru	āyasmant, agalu
	o	puṣkara, uṣtra	pokkhara, oṭṭha
ū	ū	dūra, rūpa	dūra, rūpa
	u	dūṣaṇa, cūrṇa	dussaṇa, cuṇṇa
	o	jambūnada	jambonada
	a	kūrpara	kappara
r	a	kṛpaṇa, mṛta	kapaṇa, mata
	i	rṣi, kṛmi	isi, kimi
	u	ṛtu, mṛdu	utu, mudu
	e	grha, grdhya	geha, gedha
	ra	bṛhant	brahant
	rū	bṛmhayati	brūheti
	iru	ṛgveda	irubbedha
	aru	ṛgveda	arubbedha
l	u	klpta	kutta
e	e	eka, netra	eka, netta
o	o	loma, krodha	loma, kodha
	u	jyotsnā, hetos	junhā, hetu
	ū	apanodana	apanūdana

ai	e	<i>gairika</i>	<i>geruka</i>
	i	<i>aśvarya, saindhava</i>	<i>issariya, sindhava</i>
	ī	<i>grāiveyaka</i>	<i>giveyaka</i>
au	o	<i>saumya, dautā</i>	<i>somma, dhota</i>
	u	<i>aurmi, autsukya</i>	<i>ummi, ussukka</i>
aya	ā	<i>pratisamlayana</i>	<i>patasallāna</i>
	e	<i>nayati</i>	<i>neti</i>
āya	ā	<i>upasthāyaka</i>	<i>upatthāka</i>
ayā	e	<i>nayāmi</i>	<i>nemi</i>
āyā	e	<i>bhāyāmi</i>	<i>bhemi</i>
ayi	e	<i>cintayissati</i>	<i>cintessati</i>
ava	o	<i>avatarati</i>	<i>otarati</i>
ava	ā	<i>yavagu</i>	<i>yāgu</i>
avi	e	<i>havissati</i>	<i>hessati</i>
āha	ā	<i>ānāhana</i>	<i>ālāna</i>
ya	i	<i>nyagrodha</i>	<i>nigrodha</i>
yā	ī	<i>styāna</i>	<i>thina</i>
va	u	<i>tvarate, kvathati</i>	<i>turati, kuthati</i>
	o	<i>svasti, svapna</i>	<i>sotthi, soppa</i>
vi	u	<i>dvitiya</i>	<i>dutiya</i>
ve	o	<i>dvesa</i>	<i>dosa</i>

Pali Sanskrit

a	a, ā, ṛ, u, ī
ā	ā, a, aya, āya, āha, ava
i	i, ī, ṛ, a, u, ai, ya
ī	ī, i, u, ai, yā

u	u, ū, ṛ, ī, o, au, va, vi
ū	ū, u, o
e	e, i, ī, ṛ, ai, ya, aya, ayā, āyā
o	o, u, ū, a, au, va, ava

N.B. The vowels *a, i, u* are sometimes inserted to split up a group of consonants. Further the Sanskrit word *stri* becomes in Pali *itthi*.

CHAPTER XII

EVOLUTION OF THE CONSONANTS

154. **The consonants.** The Pali alphabet contains thirty-four consonants divided into mute, nasal, liquid, semivocalic and aspirate consonants.

a). **Mute consonants.** Mute consonants are characterized by a complete closing or occlusion of the passage of the air followed by a sudden opening or explosion when the consonants are followed by a vowel. According to the organ of articulation, the mute consonants are divided into

1). **labials** when the occlusion is effected by both the lower and upper lips;

2). **dentals** when the occlusion is effected by the tip of the tongue pressing against the upper teeth;

3). **cerebrals** when the occlusion is effected by the tip of the tongue pressing against the back of the palate;

4) **palatals** when the occlusion is effected by the front of the tongue pressing against the hard palate;

5). **gutturals** when the occlusion is effected in the throat.

According to their quality, the mute consonants are divided into

hard consonants : *k, kh, c, ch, ṭ, th, t, th, p, ph*

soft consonants : *g, gh, j, jh, d, dh, d, dh, b, bh*

According to the quality of the explosion, the mute consonants are divided into

aspirate consonants : *kh, gh, ch, jh, ṭh, dh, th, dh, ph, bh*

unaspirate consonants : *k, g, c, j, ṭ, t, d, p, b*

There is also the aspirate *h*.

b). **Nasal consonants.** Each set of mute consonants has a nasal consonant which is pronounced with the air passing through the nose. Thus there are five nasal consonants: *ṇ, ñ, ñ, ñ, m*. Further there is the *niggahita* which is not an independent consonant by itself but is only the nasalization of the preceding vowel.

c). **Liquid consonants.** The liquid consonants are generally pronounced by pressing the tip of the tongue against the upper teeth or against the palate and allowing the air to escape on either side. The liquid consonants are *r, l, ḷ, ḷh*. The liquid consonants are soft consonants.

d). **Semivowels.** *y* and *v* are semivowels and are soft consonants.

e). **Sibilant.** Pali has only one sibilant *s* which is a hard dental consonant

155. **The Pali consonant system.** The Pali consonant system is very close to the Sanskrit consonant system. The following are the main differences:

a). Pali has only one dental sibilant *s* against the three sibilants of the Sanskrit language: the dental *s*, the cerebral *ṣ* and the palatal *ś*: *daśa* > *dasa* 'ten', *viśa* > *visa* 'poison', *rasa* > *rasa* 'taste'.

- b). The visarga at the end of a word in Sanskrit is eliminated in Pali. When the visarga is preceded by *a* it gives rise to *o* in Pali. When followed by any other vowel, it is eliminated: *puruṣaḥ* > *puriso*, *agniḥ* > *aggi*, *salāḥ* > *sālā*. The tendency of *ah* becoming *o* is already found in Sanskrit when it is followed by a hard consonant.
- c). Pali has retained the Vedic consonants *ḷ*, *ḷh* while classical Sanskrit has replaced them with *ḍ*, *ḍh* between two vowels. *kṛidati* > *kīlati*, *mūḍha* > *mūḷha*, *dāḥa* > *dāha* but *paridaha* > *parilāha* since it is between two vowels.

Though the Pali consonant system is close to Sanskrit, yet there are many changes that have taken place. This evolution will be treated with reference to single consonants and to groups of two and three consonants

156. Single consonants at the beginning of words. The initial consonant of a word in Sanskrit is generally retained in Pali. But there are a few exceptions:

- a). The soft consonant becomes hard: *b* > *p*: *balbaja* > *babbaja* > *pabbaja*. In this case the change of consonant may be due to dissimilation; *glāṣnu* > *kīlāsu* 'tired'
- b). The consonants *t*, *p*, *b* are sometimes aspirated: *tuśa* > *thusa* 'chaff', *paruṣa* > *pharusa* 'rough', *busa* > *bhusa* 'chaff'.
- c). The palatal consonants *c*, *j* are sometimes changed to *t*, *d*, and the dental consonant *t* is sometimes changed to the palatal *c*: *cikitsati* > *cikicchati* / *tikicchati* 'heals', *jugupsate* > *jigucchati* / *digucchati* 'abhors', *tarhi* > *tarahi* / *carahi*. In the first two examples the change of consonant may be due to dissimilation.
- d). Change of *b* > *v*: *bimba* > *bimba* / *vimba*, *vāla* > *vāla* / *bāla*. But in the form *bāla* there is a change of meaning: *vala* 'hair of the tail', *bāla* 'hair of the head'.

- e). By dissimilation *l* > *n*: *laṅgala* > *naṅgala* 'plow', *lāṅgula* > *laṅgula/naṅgula* 'tail'.
- f). The dental *d* is changed to *ḍ* or *n* in: *dahatī* < *dahatī* 'burns', *dṛṣad* > *niṣadā* 'grinding stone'. The change in *dṛṣad* may be due to dissimilation.
- g). By dissimilation *m* > *v* in *mīmamsate* > *vīmamsati* 'investigates'.
- h). The sibilant is changed to *ch* in *śava* > *chava* 'corpse', *saṣ* > *cha* 'six', *sepa* > *cheppa* 'tail'.
- i). The sibilant *s* becomes *ḍ* in *sāka* > *ḍāka* 'vegetable'.
- j). By dissimilation *p* > *k*: *pīṇikā* > *pīṇikā* / *pīṇlikā* / *kipīlikā*.
- k). Sometimes in Pali when a word begins with *i*, *u* the corresponding semivowel is prefixed: *ucyate* > *uccati* > *vuccati* 'is said', *iṣṭa* > *iṭṭha* > *yīṭṭha* 'sacrificed'.
- l). Sometimes the initial vowel is eliminated in Pali and the word begins with a consonant: *idāni* > *dāni* 'now', *udaka* > *daka* 'water', *apīdahati* > *pidahati* 'shuts', *apīlandhati* > *pīlandhati* 'wears'.

157. Correspondence of initial consonants between Pali and Sanskrit.

Sanskrit	Pali	Sanskrit	Pali
<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>karoti, kalpa</i>	<i>karoti, kappa</i>
<i>kh</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>khādati, khīla</i>	<i>khādati, khīla</i>
<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gacchati, guna</i>	<i>gacchati, guna</i>
<i>gh</i>	<i>gh</i>	<i>ghosa, ghana</i>	<i>ghosa, ghana</i>
<i>c</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>carati, cakra</i>	<i>carati, cākka</i>
	<i>t</i>	<i>cikitsati</i>	<i>cikicchati/</i> <i>tikicchati</i>
<i>ch</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>chāyā, chindati</i>	<i>chāyā, chindati</i>

j	j	jāti, jina	jāti, jina
	d	jugupsate	jigucchati/ digucchati
t	t	tathā, tudati	tathā, tudati
	th	tusa	thusa
	c	tarhi	tarahi / carahi
d	d	dadāti, deśanā	dadāti, desanā
	ḍ	dasati, dahati	ḍasati, ḍahati
	n	ḍṛsad, datyūha	nisadā, najjūha
dh	dh	dharma, dhūma	dhamma, dhūma
n	n	nadī, nidhi	nadī, nidhi
p	p	pacati, pudgala	pacati, puggala
	ph	paraśu, paruṣa	pharasu, pharusa
	k	pīṇikā	pīṇikā / kipīlikā
ph	ph	phala, phena	phala, phena
b	b	bala, bodhi	bala, bodhi
	bh	busa	bhusa
	p	balbaja	pabbaja
	v	bāṣpa, bandhya	vappa, vaṇḍha
bh	bh	bhāga, bheda	bhāga, bheda
m	m	mamsa, muñcati	mamsa, muñcati
	v	mīmamsati	vīmamsati
y	y	yaksa, yoni	yakkha, yoni
r	r	rakṣati, rocate	rakkhati, rocate
	l	rukṣa	lukha

l	l	loka, lunati	loka, lunāti
	n	laṅgala, lalāṭa	nangala, nalāta
v	v	varga, vega	vagga, vega
	b	vala, vidala	vala / bāla, bīdala
ś	s	śaknoti, śīla	sakkoti, sila
	ch	śava	chava
ṣ	s	ṣaṣṭi	saṭṭhi
	ch	saṣ	cha
s	s	saṃsarati, sukha	saṃsarati, sukha
	d	sāka	dāka
	ch	sepa	cheppa
h	h	hanti, hetu	hanti, hetu

Pali	Sanskrit	Pali	Sanskrit
k	k	n	n, d, l
kh	kh	p	p, b
g	g	ph	ph, p
gh	gh	b	b, p, v
c	c, t	bh	bh, b
ch	ch, s, ś, ṣ	m	m
j	j	v	v, b, m
ḍ	d, s	y	y
t	t, c	r	r, l
th	t	l	l, r
d	d, j	s	s, ś, ṣ
dh	dh	h	h

N.B. The only initial Sanskrit consonant which is absent in Pali is *th*. Even in Sanskrit, however, this consonant occurs initially only in a few words.

158. **Single intervocalic consonants.** A single intervocalic Sanskrit consonant is usually well retained in Pali: *ābadha* > *ābādha* 'sickness', *gāthā* > *gāthā* 'stanza', *pacati* > *pacati* 'cooks', *sukha* > *sukha* 'happiness', *prema* > *pema* 'love', etc. But there are instances where the single intervocalic consonant undergoes changes.

a). A hard mute consonant, preceded and followed by a vowel, is sometimes changed to its corresponding soft mute consonant.

t > *d*: *utpāta* > *uppāda* 'jump', *prasant* > *pasata/pasada* 'spotted deer', *ruta* > *ruta/ruda* 'sound', *pratiyālayati* > *paṭiyādeti* 'arranges', *uta* > *uda* 'or'.

k > *g*: *pratikṛtya* > *paṭikacca* / *paṭigacca* 'from the beginning', *muka* > *muga* 'dumb'.

c > *j*: *sruc* > *sujā* 'spoon'

p > *b* > *v*: *vyāpṛta* > *vyābata* > *vyāvata* 'desirable', *pūpa* > *pūba* > *pūva* 'cake', *kapi* > *kabi* / *kavi* 'monkey'.

ṭ > *ḍ* > *ḷ*: *karkaṭa* > *kakkaḍa* > *kakkhala* 'rough'

b). A soft mute consonant is sometimes changed into its corresponding hard mute consonant

g > *k*: *ajagara* > *ajagara* / *ajakara* 'python', *upaga* > *upaga* / *upaka* 'frequenting', *āpagā* > *āpagā* / *āpakā* 'river', *chagala* > *chakala* 'goat', *pra-ruj* > *paloka* 'destruction'. This change of a soft into a hard consonant is found also in some proper names: *Āgasti* > *Akitti*, *Prayāga* > *Payāka*.

gh > *kh*: *parigha* > *paligha* / *palikha* 'club'

j > *c*: *pra-aj* > *pājeti* / *pāceti* 'drives'

d > *t*: *kusīda* > *kusīta* 'lazy'

v > *p*: *hāvayati* > *hāpeti* 'offer oblation', *avaplāvayati* > *opilāpeti* 'sink', *svāna* > *suvāna* / *supāna* 'dog'

c). The aspirate consonants *gh*, *dh*, *bh* sometimes lose their occlusion and retain only the aspiration: *laghu* > *lahu* 'quick', *rudhira* > *rudhira* / *ruhira* 'blood', *narebhūh* > *narehi* 'with people', *agnibhih* > *aggihi* 'with fires'.

d). Sometimes an occlusive consonant is dropped and *y/v* is inserted to avoid hiatus: *laukika* > *lokika* > *lokiya* 'wordly', *khādita* > *khādita* / *khāyita* 'eaten'

e). The Sanskrit intervocalic cerebral consonants *ḍ*, *ḍh* become in Pali *ḷ*, *ḷh*: *krīḍati* > *kīḷati* 'plays', *mūḍha* > *mūḷha* 'deluded', *ḍāha* but *pariḷāha* 'burning'. But in a few words the intervocalic *ḍ* is retained: *pariḍahati* 'burn', *anuḍahati* 'set on fire', *anuḍahana* 'burning', *devaḍāha* 'forest fire', *anuḍasati* 'sting'.

f). When in Sanskrit the dental consonants *ṭ*, *ṭh* are preceded by a syllable containing *r*, *ṛ*, in Pali the dental consonant is changed to the corresponding cerebral consonant *prati* > *paṭi* 'against', *prathama* > *paṭhama* 'first', *kṛta* > *kata/kaṭa* 'done'.

g). *j* > *d*: *Prasenajit* > *Pasenadi*

d > *r* > *ḷ*: *trayodasa* > *terasa* / *telasa* 'thirteen'

h). *n*, *ṇ* > *ḷ*: *veṇu* > *veḷu* 'bamboo', *apināhyati* > *apinandhati* / *apiḷandhati* 'wears'.

i). In the groups *aya*, *ayi*, *ava*, *avi* the consonant is dropped and the two vowels are contracted: *aya* / *ayi* > *ai* > *e*, *avi* > *ai* > *e*, *ava* > *avu* > *au* > *o*: *bhavissati* > *havissati* > *ha-issati* > *hessati* 'will be', *sthavira* > *thera* 'elder', *avatarati* > *otarati* 'comes down', *bhavati* > *hoti* 'is'

j). *y* > *j*: *gavaya* > *gavaya* / *gavaja* 'bull'

y > *r*: *śrāmaṇeya* > *samaṇera* 'novice'

y > *v*: *āyusmant* > *āvuso* 'friend'.

- k). $r > n$: karavira > karavira / kanavira 'a plant'
 $r > l$: karira < kaḷira 'bamboo joint', catvāriṃsat
 cattārisa / cattālisa 'forty'

The prefix *pari* is sometimes changed to *pali*: paligha 'dagger', palikujjati 'becomes crooked', paliguṇṭhita 'covered', palikhanati 'digs', palikhādati 'eats all round', paligedha 'greediness', palipatha 'fear', palivetheti 'wraps', palipanna 'fallen', palibodha 'trouble'.

$r > l$: antarikṣa > antalikṣha 'sky', jarāyu > jalābu 'womb', māruta > māruta / māluta 'wind', sārīka > sālīkā / sāliyā 'mynah', haridrā > haliddā 'saffron', eraṇḍa > eraṇḍa/elaṇḍa 'castor oil plant', kumbhira > kumbhila 'crocodile', giri > gili 'hill', sukumāra > sukhumāla 'delicate', maskarin > makkhalī, yudhiṣṭhira > yudhiṭṭhila.

From the root *dṛ* there is udriyati, daḷati / dāḷeti.

From the root *gṛ*: girati / gilati.

- l). $l > r$: kila > kila / kira, lambh: ālambana > ārammana
 m). Sometimes the Sanskrit prefixes *ava* / *apa*, *abhi* / *adhi* are interchanged in Pali: avakṛntati > apakantati 'cuts', avalokita > apalokita 'begged permission', apakaroti > avakaroti 'remove', apasṛta > avasata/osata 'left', abhiprāya > adhippāya 'intention', abhipātayati > adhipāṭeti.
 n). Interchange of consonant: masaka > makasa (mosquito).
 o). Fractions: ardha-catuttha > aḍḍha-ca-utṭha > aḍḍha-a-utṭha > aḍḍhoṭṭha > aḍḍhutṭha > aḍḍhuḍḍha '3 1/2', ardha-tṭiya > aḍḍha-tṭiya > aḍḍha-a-tiya > aḍḍhatiya '2 1/2'.

159. Correspondence of single intervocalic consonants.

Sanskrit	Pali	Sanskrit	Pali
k	k	vṛka, prakāra	vaka, pakāra
	y	laukika, agārika	lokiya, agāriya
	v	śuka	suva
kh	kh	sukha, likhati	sukha, likhati

g	g	rāga, roga	rāga, roga
	k	chagala, sthagayati	chakala, thaketi
gh	gh	nīdāgha	nīdāgha
	kh	parigha	paligha / palikha
	h	laghu	lahu
c	c	pacati, ruci	pacati, ruci
j	j	gaja, rājan	gaja, rājan
	c	prājayati	pājeti / pāceti
	d	prasenajit	pasenadi
	y	nija	niya
t	t	atavi	aṭavi
	l	karkaṭa	kakkhaḷa
ṭh	ṭh	jathara	jathara
d	l	krīdati	kīḷati
	dd	krīdā	kīddā / kīlā
	l	vidāṅga, āḍambara	vilāṅga, ālambara
ḍh	lh	mūḍha	mūḷha
n	n	guṇa, aruna	guṇa, aruṇa
	l	veṇu	veḷu
t	t	gati, jāta	gati, jāta
	d	uta, yāṭayati	uda, yāḍeti, niyyāḍeti
	t	prati, kṛta	pati, kata / kaṭa
ṭh	ṭh	gathā, kathayati	gathā, katheti
	ṭh	kvathati, prathama	kathati, pathama
	dh	vyath	vedhati

d	d	udaka, kadā	udaka, kadā
	t	kusida	kusita
	y	khādita	khāyita
	l	udāra	uḷara
dh	dh	bodhi	bodhi
	th	apidhiyate	pithiyati
	h	rudhira, sādhu	ruhira, sāhu
n	n	dina, nidāna	dina, nidāna
	l	enas, anena	ela, aneḷa
	l	ānāhana	ālāna / āḷāna
p	p	rūpa	rūpa
	v	apakaroti	avakaroti
ph	ph	saphala	saphala
b	b	ābādha	ābādha
	p	alābu	alābu / alāpu
bh	bh	prabhā, labhati	pabhā, labhati
	h	prabhūta	pahūta
m	m	prema, sama	pema, sama
y	y	priya	piya
	v	āyudha, raya	āvudha, rava
	b	jarāyu	jalābu
	bb	pūya	pubba
ṛ	r	para, nara	para, nara
	n	karavīra	kaṇavīra
	l	pari, antariksa	pali, antalikha
	l	daridra	daḷidda / dalidda

l	l	kāla, phala	kāla, phala
	l	antarāla, alinda	antarāḷa, ālinda/ālinda
v	v	evam, deva	evam, deva
	b	āvila	āvila / ābīla
s	s	trasati	tasati
ś	s	yaśa	yasa
ṣ	s	bhāṣā	bhāsā
h	h	moha	moha

Pali	Sanskrit	Pali	Sanskrit
k	k, g	p	p, b
kh	kh, gh	ph	ph
g	g	b	b, v, y
gh	gh	bh	bh
c	c, j	m	m
j	j	y	y, k, j, d
ṭ	ṭ, t	r	r
ṭh	ṭh, th	l	l, r, n, d
ṇ	ṇ, r	l	d, d, l, r, ṇ, n
t	t, d	lh	dh
th	th, dh	v	v, y, k
d	d, t, j	s	s, ś, ṣ
dh	dh, th	h	h, gh, dh, bh
n	n		

N.B. In Pali *idha* has retained the mute aspirate consonant while Sanskrit has *iha*. Further Pali retains the *r* in the word *nabāru* as

is found in Avestan *snāvara* while Sanskrit *r* has been changed to *y*: *nahāyu*.

160. Final consonants. In Pali no word ends in a consonant.

- a). A Sanskrit nasal consonant at the end of a word becomes *niggahita* in Pali: *agnim* > *aggim*, *rūpam* > *rupam*, *varan* > *varam*
- b). The final visarga with a preceding *a* becomes *o*: *manah* > *mano*, *purusaḥ* > *puriso*.
- c). The visarga, preceded by any other vowel, is dropped: *sālāḥ* > *sālā*, *agniḥ* > *aggi*, *bhikṣuḥ* > *bhikkhu*.
- d). The Sanskrit consonants *k*, *t*, *ṭ*, *p* at the end of a word, are dropped: *tasmāt* > *tasmā*
- e). When a word ends in a consonant in Sanskrit, either that consonant is dropped in Pali or a vowel is added to it:

<i>apsaras</i> > <i>accharā</i>	<i>uṣman</i> > <i>uṣma</i> / <i>usuma</i>
<i>vidyut</i> > <i>vijju</i> / <i>vijjutā</i>	<i>sarit</i> > <i>saritā</i>
<i>āpad</i> > <i>āpadā</i>	<i>sarat</i> > <i>saradā</i>
<i>drśad</i> > <i>nisadā</i>	<i>nirvid</i> > <i>nibbidā</i>

N.B. Sometimes the final consonant of a preposition or of a pronoun which has been dropped, reappears in composition: *puna*: *punarahosi*, *tasmā*: *tasmātiha*.

161. Groups of two consonants. The various Sanskrit consonant groups, in passing over to Pali, are either assimilated or split up by the insertion of a vowel.

Assimilation between two occlusive consonants was favoured by the fact that the first consonant was unexploded and hence very easily tended to be pronounced like the following consonant which exploded with the following vowel.

The insertion of a vowel usually took place when the second consonant was a nasal or a semivowel, or when a liquid consonant

was preceded by a mute consonant or by *s*. Sometimes the same word may have two developments: assimilation of the consonants and insertion of a vowel.

A word in Pali generally begins with a single consonant; hence an initial group of consonants in Sanskrit is in Pali either assimilated or split up with the insertion of a vowel. When the group is assimilated, the first consonant drops; but this consonant appears in compounds: *skandha* > *kkhandha* > *khandha* *jñāta* > *ññāta* > *ñāta* but *abhiññāta*. There are, however, a few words beginning with an occlusive or mute consonant and a semivowel or liquid consonant: *brahma* > *brahma*, *vyākṛta* > *vyākata*.

The rules of assimilation are the same as those given in nos. 12-16. Those rules are briefly repeated here together with elements that are proper to the evolution of consonants from Sanskrit to Pali.

162. Mute + mute consonant. When in Sanskrit the group of consonants is made up of two identical mute consonants, this group remains unaltered in Pali: *uddāna* > *uddāna* 'essence'. When the two consonants are different, the first is assimilated to the second: *pudgala* > *puggala* 'individual', *ārabdha* > *āraddha* 'begun'.

A group of dental consonants, preceded by *r* / *ṛ*, sometimes remains the same and sometimes the consonants are cerebralized. The difference of development is usually connected with a semantic difference: *vrddha* > *vuddha* 'old', *vaddha* 'wealth', *vr̥tta* > *vatta* 'obligation', *vaṭṭa* 'circular'.

The consonants are assimilated and cerebralized in the past participle *dagdha* from the root *ḍah*: *daddha*.

In *pippali* > *pipphali* the consonant becomes aspirate.

Here are the various groups made up of occlusive or mute consonants:

Sanskrit	Pali	Sanskrit	Pali
<i>kk</i>	<i>kk</i>	<i>vr̥kka</i>	<i>vakka</i>
<i>kt</i>	<i>tt</i>	<i>vukta</i>	<i>vutta</i>

kth	tth	sakthi	satthi
gdh	ddh	dugdha	duddha
gbh	bbh	prāgbhāra	pabbhāra
cc	cc	uccaya	uccaya
cch	cch	gacchati	gacchati
jj	jj	kajjala	kajjala
jjh	jjh	ujjhati	ujjhati
tt	tt	ghattayati	ghatteti
ḍḍ	ḍḍ	uddayati	uddeti
dg	gg	khadga	khagga
tt	tt	nimitta	nimitta
	ṭṭ	vytta	vatṭa
tk	kk	satkaroti	sakkaroti
tp	pp	utpatti	uppatti
tph	pph	utphalayati	upphaleti
dd	dd	uddāna	uddāna
ddh	ddh	śraddhā	saddhā
	ḍḍh	vṛddhi	vaḍḍhi
	bbh	uddhṛta	ubbhata
dg	gg	mudga	mugga
dgh	ggh	udghoṣayati	ugghoseti
db	bb	udbadhnāti	ubbandhati
dbh	bbh	udbhava	ubbhava
pt	tt	prapta	patta
pp	pph	pippali	pipphali
bj	jj	kubja	kujja

bd	dd	śabda	sadda
bdh	ddh	labdha	laddha

N.B. Sometimes in Sanskrit a word has a long vowel before a single consonant; in Pali the consonant is doubled and the vowel shortened: *ākula* > *akkula*, *nīdha* > *niddha*

163. Mute + sibilant consonants. In Sanskrit only three mute consonants are followed by a sibilant: *kṣ*, *ts*, *ps*.

a). *kṣ*. In this group the sibilant is assimilated to the mute consonant and the final vowel is aspirated: *rakṣati* > *rakkhati*, *dakṣiṇa* > *dakkhiṇa*, *ksetra* > *khetta*, *ksipati* > *khīpati*.

There are some words in which the group *ks* > *cch*: *ṛksa* > *accha*, *kuksi* > *kucchi*.

In some word we find both *kkh*, *cch*: *akṣi* > *akkhi*, *sakṣikaroti* > *sacchikaroti*, *kṣura* > *khura*, *kṣurikā* > *churikā*.

In some cases the difference in the simplification of the consonant group has a special semantic connotation. *kṣamā* > *khamā* 'forbearance', *kṣamā* > *chamā* 'earth'; *kṣaṇa* > *khaṇa* 'moment', *kṣaṇa* > *chaṇa* 'festivity'.

kṣ > *kkh* > *ggh*: *praksarati* > *pakkharati* > *paggharati*.

The consonant group *kṣ* of the root *kṣāy* has various developments: *ghāyati*/*jhāyati* 'to be thirsty', *khāra* 'saltpetre' *chārīka* 'ashes'.

b). *ts*. At the beginning of a word this group of consonants is found in Sanskrit only in the word *tsaru* > *tharu*.

When the group *ts* is intervocalic, it develops into *cch*: *ditsati* > *dicchati*, *vatsa* > *vaccha*.

When a word beginning with the sibilant *s* is preceded by the prefix *ud*, the final consonant of *ud* becomes hard i.e. *ut* and then it is assimilated to the following sibilant: *ud-sahati* > *ut-sahati* > *ussahati*, *ud-suka* > *ut-suka* > *ussuka*. But *ut-saṅga* > *ucchāṅga*.

- c). *ps* > *cch*. *apsaras* > *accharā*, *jugupsate* > *jigucchatī*, *psata* > *chāta*.

164. **Sibilant + mute consonant.** A sibilant is assimilated to a following mute consonant and this becomes aspirate, unless it is already aspirate:

Sanskrit	Pali	Sanskrit	Pali
<i>sk</i>	<i>kkh</i>	<i>skandha</i> , <i>praskandati</i>	<i>khandha</i> , <i>pakkhandati</i>
<i>st</i>	<i>tth</i>	<i>asti</i> , <i>stana</i>	<i>atthi</i> , <i>thana</i>
<i>st</i>	<i>tt</i>	<i>upasthamba</i>	<i>upatthamba</i>
<i>sp</i>	<i>pph</i>	<i>sparsa</i>	<i>phassa</i>
<i>sph</i>	<i>pph</i>	<i>sphāti</i>	<i>phāti</i>
<i>sk</i>	<i>kkh</i>	<i>niṣka</i>	<i>nikkha</i>
<i>ṣṭ</i>	<i>tth</i>	<i>ḍṣṭi</i>	<i>diṭṭhi</i>
<i>ṣṭh</i>	<i>tth</i>	<i>śreṣṭhi</i> , <i>kāṣṭha</i>	<i>seṭṭhi</i> , <i>kaṭṭha</i>
<i>śc</i>	<i>cch</i>	<i>paścāt</i> , <i>āśvarya</i>	<i>pacchā</i> , <i>acchariya</i>

- a) The group *sk* in the root *skambh-* becomes *kh* / *ch* but with a semantic difference: *khambheti* 'endures', *chambeti* 'to be firm'.
- b). In the root *sthā* the vowel *i* of the reduplication causes the cerebralization of the following group: *tiṣṭhati* > *tiṭṭhati*. The cerebral consonants have been retained in all the forms derived from this root: *aṭṭhāsi*, *ṭhita*, *ṭhassati*, *ṭhānam*, *ṭhiti*. But the dental has been retained in the words *thāmā*, *thāvara*, *thura*, *thera*.
- c). The final sibilant of the prefix *nis* usually causes the following consonant to become aspirate; but there are a few cases where this aspiration does not take place: *nispatti* > *nippatti* / *nippatti*, *niścama* > *niccamma*, *niskāma* > *nikkāma*,

niskirna > *nikkiriṇṇa*, *niscala* > *niccala*, *niścaraṭi* > *niccharaṭi*, *nistirna* > *nistinna*, *nistarana* > *nittharapa*.

The final sibilant of *dus* never causes the aspiration of the following consonant: *duskara* > *dukkara*, *dustara* > *duttara*.

- d). In some cases the group *st* has been retained: *uttrasta* > *utrasta*, *avadhasta* > *odhasta*.

In the word *asthi* the consonant group has been cerebralized: *atthi*.

In *leṣṭu* the sibilant has been assimilated to the following consonant, and then the group has been softened but without aspiration: *leṣṭu* > *leṭṭu* > *ledḍu*.

skanna > *kanna* without aspiration.

165. **Mute consonant + nasal consonant.** A nasal consonant is assimilated to a preceding guttural, dental and labial consonant

Sanskrit	Pali	Sanskrit	Pali
<i>kn</i>	<i>kk</i>	<i>śaknoti</i>	<i>sakkoti</i>
<i>gn</i>	<i>gg</i>	<i>agni</i>	<i>aggi</i>
<i>tn</i>	<i>tt</i>	<i>sapatna</i>	<i>sapatta</i>
<i>tm</i>	<i>tt</i>	<i>ātman</i>	<i>attan</i>
<i>pn</i>	<i>pp</i>	<i>prāpnoti</i>	<i>pappoti</i>

- a). A palatal consonant, followed by a nasal, is assimilated to it: *rājñā* > *raññā*, *abijñā* > *abiññā*.
- b). Sometimes, instead of the two consonants being assimilated, a vowel is inserted: *rājñā* > *raññā* / *rājinā*, *ratna* > *ratana*, *ātmā* > *ātumā*, *pāpman* > *pāpinā*, *padma* > *padma* / *paduma*, *agni* > *aggi* / *gini*, *svapna* > *supina* / *soppa*.

When the root *śak-* and the root *āp* with the prefix *pra* are inflected in Pali like the verbs of the ninth class, the vowel *u* is inserted before the suffix: *pra-āp-nāti* > *pāp-u-nāti* > *pāpunāti*, *śak-*

nāti > *sakk-u-nāti* > *sakkunāti*. This second form has the doubling of the consonant on the analogy of *sakkoti*.

- c). The consonant group of the root *jñā* is sometimes simplified to a cerebral nasal: *ājñā* > *ānā*, *ājñāpti* > *ānatti*, *ājñāpeti* > *ānāpeti*.

166. Nasal consonant + mute consonant. A Sanskrit nasal followed by a mute is retained in Pali: *aṅkura* > *ankura*, *saṅgha* > *saṅgha*, *pañca* > *pañca*, *paṇḍita* > *paṇḍita*, *antima* > *antima*, *kampati* > *kampati*, *sambodhi* > *sambodhi*, *gambhira* > *gambhira*.

- a). In some cases a hard mute consonant is softened: *nighaṇṭu* > *nighaṇḍu*.
 b). Sometimes the consonant *r* causes the cerebralization of a following dental: *granthi* > *gaṇṭhi*,
 c). In the group *mbh* sometimes the occlusion is lost leaving behind only the aspiration: *vambha* > *vamha*.
 d). The group *ñc* in numerals is sometimes represented by *ṇṇ*, *ññ*, *nn*: *pañcadaśa* > *pañcadasa* / *pañnarasa*, *pañnarasa* / *pañcāśat* > *paññāsa* / *paññāsa*.

167. Mute consonant + *l*, *v*, *y*, *r*. When a mute consonant is followed by one of the consonant *l*, *v*, *y*, *r* the usual assimilation takes place. But there are cases where the consonant group remains the same, or a vowel is inserted, or a new group of consonants arises.

- a). Mute consonant + *l*. When a mute consonant is followed by *l* assimilation takes place or a vowel is inserted: *śukla* > *sukka*, *glāna* > *gilāna*, *kḷṣṭa* > *kḷiṭṭha*, *kleśa* > *kilesa*, *klāmati* > *kilāmati*, *plavati* > *plavati* / *pilavati*
 b). mute consonant + *v*. When a mute consonant is followed by *v* the group remains unchanged, or assimilation takes place or the vowel *u* is inserted: *śrutvā* > *sutvā*, *jñatvā* > *ñatvā*, *tvam* > *tvam*, *dvāra* > *dvāra*, *dvidhā* > *dvidhā*.

Assimilation: *kṛtvā* > *khattum*, *dvi* > *ddi* > *di*: *diguṇa*, *dveṣya* > *deṣsa*, *tvam* > *tam*, *jvalati* > *jalati*.

Insertion of vowel *u*: *tvam* > *tuvam*, *dvi* > *duvi*

dv > *bb*: *udvigna* > *ubbigga*, *dvādasa* > *bārasa*.

Stray cases: *dvesa* > *dosa*, *catvara* > *caccara*, *avadhvasta* > *odhastā*, *labhadhve* > *labhavhe*, *jajvalayati* > *daddaḷhati*.

c). Mute consonant + *y*.

Guttural consonant + *y*

1. remain unchanged
2. assimilation
3. insertion of a vowel

śākya > *sakka* / *sākiya* / *sakya* > *sakka*, *vākya* / *vākiya*, *ākhyāta* > *ākhyāta* / *akkhāta*, *bhāgya* > *bhāgya*, *bhagga* / *bhāgiya*, *bhāgyavant* > *bhāgyavant* / *bhaggavant*, *ārogya* > *ārogya*.

Palatal consonant + *y*: Either the group is split up with the vowel *i* or assimilation takes place: *jyā* > *jīyā*, *yācyate* > *yāciyati*, *jyotsnā* > *juṇhā* / *dosinā*, *vaṇijyā* > *vanijjā*

Dental consonant + *y* give rise to a palatal group: *ty* > *cc*, *thy* > *cch*, *dy* > *jj*, *dhy* > *jjh*: *atyanta* > *accanta*, *tyajati* > *cajati*, *mithyā* > *micchā*, *utpadyate* > *uppajjati*, *madhyama* > *majjhima*, *dhyāna* > *jhāna*, *dyotate* > *jotati*.

N.B. The final consonant of *ud* is assimilated to the following *y* in *ud-yāna* > *uyyāna*, *dyūta* > *dūta* / *jūta*

dānyūha > *najjūha*, *pratyeka* > *pacceka* / *pāṭekka* / *pāṭiyekka*

d). Mute consonant + *r*. This group either remains unchanged or assimilation takes place or a vowel is inserted:

brahmaṇa > *brāhmaṇa*, *brūmi* > *brūmi*, *anyatra* > *aññatra*, *nyagrodha* > *nigrodha*.

krodha > *kodha*, *kriḍā* > *kīḷā* / *khiddā*, *grāma* > *gāma*, *grasati* > *gasati*.

vajra > *vajira*, *kriyā* > *kiriya*, *krūra* > *kurūra*.

The group *tr* is sometimes assimilated and aspirated: *yatra* > *yattha*, *annatra* > *aññattha*.

168. *l, r* + mute consonants.

- a). *l* + a mute consonant. The consonant *l*, followed by a mute consonant, is assimilated to it: *alpa* > *appa*, *valgu* > *vaggu*
 b). *r* + a mute consonant. The consonant *r*, followed by a mute consonant, is assimilated to it: *kirti* > *kitti*, *mārga* > *magga*, *nirdōṣa* > *niddosa*, *sarpa* > *sappa*, *garbha* > *gabbha*.

Sometimes a dental consonant is cerebralized: *ārta* > *aṭṭa*, *ardha* > *addha* / *addha*, *nirdhāti* > *niḍḍayati*, *vardhati* > *vaḍḍhati*.

The difference between the dental and the cerebral consonants is linked with a semantic difference: *vartati* > *vattati* 'to exist', *vaṭṭati* 'to turn round'.

The word *artha* has several developments in Pali: *attha* 'gain and meaning', *aṭṭa* 'lawsuit', *aṭṭha* in *aṭṭhikaroti* 'to understand'.

In the word *gardabha* the consonant *r* undergoes metathesis: *gardabha* > *gadrabha*.

169. Sibilant + nasal consonant. When a sibilant is followed by a nasal consonant, the sibilant is changed to *h* and then metathesis takes place: *ṭṣṇā* > *tahnā* > *taphā*, *grīṣma* > *gimha*, *praśna* > *pañha*. In this last case, the dental is cerebralized.

In some cases the sibilant and the nasal have not undergone any change: *asmi* > *asmi*, *tasmim* > *tasmim* / *tamhi*.

Sometimes the consonant group is split up with the insertion of a vowel. In some cases the vowel has been inserted even after the sibilant consonant has been changed to *h*: *snigdha* > *siniddha*, *snana* > *nahāna*, *snāyu* > *nhāru* > *nahāru*.

Rarely is the nasal consonant assimilated to the sibilant: *smarati* > *ssarati* > *sarati*, *anusmarati* > *anussarati*, *smṛti* > *sati*.

In the word *rasmi* either the two consonants remain unchanged or they are interchanged, while in *smaśru* the sibilant is assimilated to the nasal: *rasmi* > *rasmi* / *ramsi*, *smaśru* > *massu*

There are words in which the group sibilant + nasal has undergone more than one change:

<i>aśman</i>	<i>asmani</i> , <i>asama</i> , <i>amha</i>
<i>uśman</i>	<i>usmā</i> , <i>usumā</i>
<i>ṭṣṇā</i>	<i>tanhā</i> , <i>tasinā</i>
<i>bhīṣma</i>	<i>bhīṣma</i> , <i>bhūṣma</i> , <i>bhesma</i> , <i>bhumha</i>
<i>sneha</i>	<i>sneha</i> , <i>sineha</i>
<i>śnuṣā</i>	<i>sunhā</i> , <i>suṇisā</i> , <i>husā</i>
<i>smarati</i>	<i>sumarati</i> , <i>sarati</i>
<i>smṛta</i>	<i>sita</i> , <i>smṛta</i> , <i>mihita</i> (<i>smṛta</i> > <i>hṛita</i> > <i>mṛita</i> > <i>mihita</i>)
<i>ślesman</i>	<i>silesuma</i> , <i>semiha</i>

170. Nasal + sibilant. A nasal consonant is turned into *niggahita* when followed by a sibilant: *anśu* > *amsu*, *amśa* > *amśa*.

In some words the nasal has been dropped and the vowel has been lengthened: *vimsati* > *vīsati*, *śimha* > *siha*

171. Sibilant + *l, v, y, r*. The consonants *l, v, y, r* are assimilated to a preceding sibilant: *aśva* > *assa*, *naśyati* > *nassati*, *sahasra* > *sahassa*, *svādate* > *sāyati*, *śaśvat* > *sassata*, *śvaśru* > *sassu*

Sometimes, instead of assimilation, the consonant group is split up with the insertion of a vowel: *śloka* > *siloka*, *ślesman* > *silesuma*, *śvāna* > *suvāna* / *suvāna*, *svāmin* > *sāmin* / *suvāmin*, *śvas* > *sve* / *suve*, *syāt* > *siyā*, *śrī* > *sirī*.

The sibilant with *y* gives rise to *cch* in *āsyati* > *acchati*, *kasyapa* > *kacchapa*.

The group *śr* may be assimilated into a double sibilant, or the sibilant may be preceded by a *niggahita*, or the *niggahita* may

be dropped and the vowel lengthened: *aśra* > *assa* / *aṃsa* / *āsa* (*kotthāsa*).

172. **r + sibilant.** Generally an *r* is assimilated to a following sibilant: *darśana* > *dassana*, *varṣati* > *vassati*, *karsaka* > *kassaka*.

Sometimes the double sibilant is simplified and a preceding short vowel is lengthened or nasalized: *akarsit* > *akassi* > *akāsi*, *karṣu* > *kassu* > *kasu*, *darśayati* > *dasseti* / *upadamseti*, *utkarṣati* > *ukkamsati*, *gharṣati* > *ghamsati*, *harsati* > *hamsati*, *dharṣana* > *dhamṣana*.

173. **Nasal + nasal.** The consonant group *nn* is sometimes cerebralized: *unnamati* > *unnamati* / *unṇamati*, *anna* > *anna* (*aparaṇṇa*, *pubbaṇṇa*), *jānu* > *jānu* / *jannu* (*jannuka*).

174. **Nasal + l, v, y, r.**

<i>ml</i>	<i>m-l</i>	<i>mlāyati</i> > <i>mlāyati</i>
	<i>ll</i>	<i>pratisamlina</i> > <i>paṭisallina</i> , <i>samlapati</i> > <i>sallapati</i>
<i>my</i>	<i>my</i>	<i>kamyatā</i> > <i>kamyatā</i>
	<i>mm</i>	<i>kamyatā</i> > <i>kammatā</i> , <i>āgamya</i> > <i>āgamma</i>
<i>my</i>	<i>ṃy / ñña</i>	<i>samyama</i> > <i>samyama</i> / <i>saññama</i>
<i>mv</i>	<i>ṃv</i>	<i>saṃvara</i> > <i>saṃvara</i>
<i>mr</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>samrāga</i> > <i>sārāga</i>
<i>mr</i>	<i>ṃr</i>	<i>samraksati</i> > <i>samrakkhati</i>
<i>ny</i>	<i>ññ</i>	<i>anya</i> > <i>añña</i> , <i>maṇyati</i> > <i>maññati</i> , <i>nyāya</i> > <i>ññaya</i> > <i>ñāya</i>
<i>nv</i>	<i>nv</i>	<i>anveti</i> > <i>anveti</i>
	<i>nn</i>	<i>samanvāgata</i> > <i>samannāgata</i> , <i>samanvesati</i> > <i>samannesati</i>
<i>nv</i>	<i>ṇṇ</i>	<i>kinva</i> > <i>kinna</i>

175. **l, v, y, r + nasal.** The consonant *l, v, y, r* are assimilated to a following nasal: *dharma* > *dhamma*, *pūrṇa* > *punna*, *karna* > *kaṇṇa*, *kalmāṣa* > *kammaṣa*.

N.B. *ūrmī* > *ūmmī* > *ūmī*

gulina > *gumla* > *gumbā* > *gumba*

176. **l, v, y, r + l, v, y, r.**

<i>lv</i>	<i>ll</i>	<i>palvala</i> > <i>palla</i> <i>bilva</i> > <i>billa</i>
<i>ly</i>	<i>ly</i>	<i>kalyāṇa</i> > <i>kalyāṇa</i> <i>māṅgalya</i> > <i>maṅgalya</i>
	<i>ll</i>	<i>cāpalya</i> > <i>cāpalla</i> <i>kausalya</i> > <i>kosalla</i>
	<i>lh</i>	<i>jājvalyati</i> > <i>daddalhati</i>
<i>vy</i>	<i>vy</i>	<i>divya</i> > <i>divya</i> , <i>anuvyañjana</i> > <i>anuvyañjana</i>
<i>by</i>		<i>vyakta</i> > <i>byatta</i> , <i>anuvyañjana</i> > <i>anubyañjana</i>
	<i>viy</i>	<i>vyakta</i> > <i>viyatta</i> , <i>anuvyañjana</i> > <i>anuviyañjana</i>
	<i>vv</i>	<i>vyagra</i> > <i>vagga</i> , <i>vyaya</i> > <i>vaya</i>
	<i>bb</i>	<i>bhavya</i> > <i>bhabba</i> , <i>vyūḍha</i> > <i>būlha</i>
<i>vya</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>vyadh</i> > <i>vijjhati</i>
	<i>ve</i>	<i>vyath</i> > <i>vedhati</i>
<i>vr</i>	<i>vv</i>	<i>vraja</i> > <i>vaja</i>
	<i>bb</i>	<i>pravrajati</i> > <i>pabbajati</i>
<i>rl</i>	<i>ll</i>	<i>durlabha</i> > <i>dullabha</i>
<i>rv</i>	<i>bb</i>	<i>sarva</i> > <i>sabba</i>
	<i>pp</i>	<i>carvayati</i> > <i>cappeti</i>
<i>ry</i>	<i>ry</i>	<i>ārya</i> > <i>arya</i>

riya ārya > arīya, sūrya > surīya, pratiharya
> patihariya / patihīra (pratiharya > paṭihairā
> paṭihera > paṭihira)

yir ārya > ayīra, karyāt > kayirā

yy ārya > ayya, niryāti > niyyāti

ll paryanka > pallanka

Sometimes when *ir* is preceded by the vowel *a*, contraction takes place: āśvarya > acchayira > accha-ira > acchera.

177. h.

h + nasal, *y*, *v* undergoes matathesis: grhnāti > gahṇāti > gaṇhāti, jihva > jūha, āruhya > āruya, jīhvā > jīvā. The consonants remain unchanged in the words *brahman*, *brāhmaṇa*.

The group *hy* is split up with the vowel *i*: hyas > hiyo > hiyyo. Leyya < lehya may have been formed on the analogy with peyya with which it is usually used.

N.B. hri > hiri

hrada draha daha

hrada harada rahada

hraśva rassa

nayhati nandhati. This may be an analogical form: as baddha < bandhati so naddha < nandhati.

GROUPS OF THREE CONSONANTS

The groups of three consonants will be treated according as they contain a nasal or not

178. Groups of three consonants without a nasal. If the group of consonants in Sanskrit contains at least one mute consonant, then

the general rules of assimilation are followed in passing over into Pali. Then one of the three consonants is dropped.

a). Mute + mute + *s*, *y*, *r*, *v*.

ktr tt vaktra vattta vatta,

yoktra yottta yotta

tkṣ kkh utkṣipati ukksipati ukkkhipati
ukkkhipati

ttr tt chattra chatta

ttv tt tatva tatta,

sattva satta

ddhv ddh uddhvaṃsati uddhvaṃsati

djv jj udjvalati ujjalati

In the past gerund the suffix *tvā* remains but the previous consonant is dropped: prāptvā > pattvā > patvā, bhuktvā > bhutvā, muktvā > mutvā

Sometimes the group *tr* is retained and the previous consonant is dropped: uttrasati > uttasati, uttrasta > utrasta / uttasta.

tkṣ > jjh: utksāyati > ujjhāyati

b). Mute + sibilant + *y*.

ksy > kkh: sakṣyati > sakkhati/ sagghati,

vakṣyati > vakkhati

mokṣyati > mokkhati.

tsy, psy > cch: matsya > maccha,

chetsyati > checchati,

lasyati > lacchati

c). Sibilant + mute + *y*, *r*, *v*.

str tth: strī > itthī / thī

śastra > sattha

str tth: oṣṭra > oṭṭha.

N.B. dṛstvā > diṣvā / datṭhu (in poetry)

śāstrā > sattharā (with the insertion of a vowel)

styāna > thina

d). r + mute + y, r, v.

martya > mattiya > macca

ārdra > adda / alla / addha

ūrdhva > uddham / ubbham

e). r + ṣ + t.

rṣṭ > tth akārṣṭa > akattha

In Pali, in the second person plural of the verbs, the dental group has been generalized where we might have expected a cerebral group.

f). r + sibilant + y, v.

irṣyā > issā, pārśva > passa.

Note the future of the verb *kasati* from the root *kṛṣ-* : *karsyati* > *kassati* > *kassati* > *kāsati* > *kāhati* / *kāhiti*.

179. Sanskrit consonant groups with a nasal. When in Sanskrit a nasal is followed by two consonants, in passing over into Pali, the nasal is retained while the other two consonants are assimilated and then one is dropped.

a). nasal + mute + mute.

nkt > nt paṅkti pantī

b). nasal + mute + sibilant

nasal + sibilant + mute.

nkṣ > nkḥ sankṣipati sankhīpati,

kaṅksā kaṅkhā

msk > nkḥ saṃskāra saṅkhāra

nsth > nth sansthāgāra santhāgāra,

c). nasal + mute + y, r, v.

ṅkr > nk caṅkramati caṅkamati

nkhy > nkḥ saṅkhyāti saṅkhāti

ṅgr > ṅg saṅgrāma saṅgāma

ntr > nt tantri tanti

nty > ṅc ānantya ānañca

ndr > nd candra canda

ndhy > ṅjh sandhyā > saṅjhā, vindhyā > viṇjhā

ndhr > ndh randhra > randha

In some cases the three consonants are retained, and in the past gerund Pali has three consonants while Sanskrit has only two: *indriya* > *indriya*, *sankhyāta* > *saṅkhāta*, *hatvā* > *hantvā*, *gatvā* > *gantvā*.

Sometimes there is no assimilation but the group is split up with the insertion of a vowel: *nisiṅcyā* > *nisiṅciya*. Further *saṃjñā* > *saññā*.

d). nasal + s + y. *haṃsyati* > *hañchati* / *haṅkhati*. This development may have been due to the insertion of *t/k* before the sibilant: *han-t-syati* > *hañchati* / *han-k-syati* > *haṅkhati*.

180. Two consonants + nasal. A Sanskrit word with a nasal preceded by two other consonants passes over into Pali in different ways.

ksṇ > kkh / ṅh / kh-ṇ

tikṣṇa tikkha / tiṅha / tikḥṇa

abhikṣṇam abhikkhaṇam / abhiṅgham

ślakṣṇa saṅha

kṣm > kkh / mḥ / kh-m

sukṣma sukkha, sumha, sukhuma

lakṣmī lakkhi

tsn > nh / s-n

jotsnā

junhā /

dosinā

kṛtsna

kasina

tsm > mh:

utsmayati

umhayati

rtm > t-m:

vartman

vaṭuma

rṣṇ > nh:

pārṣṇi paṇhi

rṣm > mh:

akārṣma

akamha

If a Sanskrit word has a group of four consonants, in Pali these consonants are reduced to one with the lengthening of the previous vowel: *damśtrā* > *dāthā*.

181. Insertion of a vowel. In the evolution of the consonant groups from Sanskrit into Pali, often there is no assimilation but the splitting up of the group with the insertion of one of the vowels *i*, *u*, *a*. Sometimes, instead of the vowel *u* we find *o* the guna form of the same vowel. The choice of the vowel that is inserted generally follows a certain pattern. The vowel *i* is generally inserted before the semivowel *y* and before the liquid consonant *l*; the vowel *u* is generally inserted before the semivowel *v* and the labial consonant *m*, the vowel *a* is inserted before the consonant *r*. In a few cases the vowel inserted has been influenced by the vowel in the following syllable.

a). y > iy:

ārya

ariya

maryādā

mariyādā

ācārya

ācariya

śākya

sākiya

aśvarya

acchariya

bhāgya

bhāgiya

kiryā

kiriya

nisīñcyā

nisīñciya

sūrya

suriya

prakīrya

pakiriya

vīrya

viriya

yācyate

yāciyati

b). v > uv:

tvam

tuvam

svāmin

suvāmin

dvi

duvi

śvāna

suvāna

śvas

suve

svasti

suvatthi

dvandva

tuvantuva

c). m > um:

ātmā

ātumā

vartman

vaṭuma

usman

usuma

sūksma

sukhuma

paksman

pakhuma

smarati

sumarati

padma

paduma

ślesman

silesuma

N.B. *pāpman* > *pāpimā* (the vowel *i* may be due to the accented previous vowel *ā*.)

smita > *mhita* > *mihita*, *aśman* > *asama* (the vowel inserted in these last two examples may be due to the influence of the neighbouring vowels)

c). r > ar:

śāstrā

sattharā

dātrā

dātarā

pitṛā

pitarā

hrada

harada > rahada

mātrā

mātarā

N.B. *arhati* > *arahati**garhati* > *garahati**srī* > *sirī**hrī* > *hirī**krūra* > *kurura*

(the vowel inserted may have been due to the influence of the neighbouring vowel).

d). l > il:

kleśa

kilesa

mlāyati

milāyati

kliṣṭa

kiliṭṭha

śleṣṭha

siliṭṭha

klamati

kilamati

śloka

siloka

glāṣnu

kilāsu

ślesman

silesuma

<i>glāna</i>	<i>gilana</i>	<i>avaplāvayati</i>	<i>opilāpeti</i>
<i>plavati</i>	<i>pilāvati</i>		

e). *n*: The vowel inserted, when the consonant group containing an *n* is split, depends on the previous or on the following vowel:

<i>agni</i>	<i>gmi</i>	<i>ratna</i>	<i>ratana</i>
<i>tīksna</i>	<i>tikhīna</i>	<i>abhikṣna</i>	<i>abhikkhana</i>
<i>snigdha</i>	<i>siniddha</i>	<i>snāna</i>	<i>nhana</i> > <i>nahāna</i>
<i>snāyu</i>	<i>nhāru</i>	> <i>nahāru</i>	

N.B. *rājñah* > *rājino*, *rājñā* > *rājinā*, *rājñi* > *rājini*

In the declension of the stems in *an*, the vowel *u* is inserted when the final is long, and the vowel *a* when the final vowel is short:

<i>brahmunā</i> , <i>brahmuno</i>	but <i>brahmani</i>
<i>kammunā</i> , <i>kammuno</i>	but <i>kammani</i>
<i>addhunā</i> , <i>addhuno</i>	but <i>addhani</i> .

But *attan* retains the vowel *a*: *attanā*, *attano*, *attani*

In the conjugation of the present stem we find also *pāpuṇāti*, *sakkunāti*.

In a few cases, the vowel *i* is inserted before the consonant *n*:

<i>tṛṣṇā</i>	<i>tasinā</i>	<i>svapna</i>	<i>supina</i>
<i>jyotsnā</i>	<i>dosinā</i>	<i>snāyati</i>	<i>sinayati</i>
<i>sneha</i>	<i>sineha</i>	<i>snuṣa</i>	<i>sinusa</i> > <i>sunisā</i> / <i>suṇhā</i>

f). Insertion of *o*.

gulma > *gumba* but in the derivative *golomika*, *svarga* > *sagga*, *sovaggika*, *dvāra* > *dvāra*, *dvārika* / *dovārika*.

g). When the vowel *i* is inserted after the consonant *r*, then a long vowel preceding the consonant *r* is shortened.

<i>sūrya</i>	<i>suriya</i>	<i>ārya</i>	<i>ariya</i>
<i>ācarya</i>	<i>ācariya</i>	<i>vīrya</i>	<i>viriya</i>
Similarly	<i>sūkṣma</i>	<i>sukhuma</i>	<i>tīksna</i> <i>tikhina</i>

N.B. a). In Pali any consonant can be found at the beginning of a word, except *ḍ*, *ṭ*, *ḍh*, *ṭh*, *ḷ*, *ḷh*.

b). Between two vowels all consonants can be used alone with the exception of *ch*, *jh*, *ñ*, *dh*, *ḍh*.

c). All Sanskrit final consonants are dropped in Pali, though they may sometimes appear in compound words

A P O P H O N Y

182. In Sanskrit the vowel gradation plays a great part in the formation of words, in the declensions and in the conjugations. In Pali the vowel gradation has lost much of its importance. In the building up of the words, it is found since most of the words are derived from Sanskrit. In the declensions and the conjugations most of the time there is the tendency to build up the forms from one uniform stem; thus while Sanskrit has such forms as *chinadmi*, *chinatsi*, *chindmaḥ*, in Pali we have *chindāmi*, *chindasi*, *chindāma*. While in Sanskrit the past participle is formed from the verbal root in its weak grade *gam-*: *gata*, in Pali we have the past participle formed from the root in its weak grade, but also from the stem of the present tense. *gata*, *gacchita*. The same happens in the declensions. Thus we have the forms *silavatā*, *silavato*, but the word is also declined like the ordinary thematic stems: *silavanto*, *silavantam*, *silavantassa*, etc.. (For the vowel gradation, see no. 4 and what has been said in the declension, in the conjugation, and in the building up of words.)

CHAPTER XIII

EVOLUTION OF
THE DECLENSIONS

In Pali the declensions of the nouns and of the adjectives are the historical development and simplification of the declensions in Sanskrit. Hence when we compare and contrast the declensions in Pali with the declensions in Sanskrit we can follow their evolution. Before coming to details, we can point out some general characteristics.

183. **Loss of consonant declensions.** Since no words in Pali end in a consonant, the Sanskrit consonant declensions have been lost and they have become vowel declensions according as the words end in one or the other vowel; v.g. *āpad* > *āpadā*, *vidyut* > *vijju* / *vijjutā*, *āyus* > *ayu*, *dis* > *disā*. Traces, however, of the Sanskrit consonant declension are found in stem in *-as*, *-an*, *-in*, *-nt*, *-ar*: *manas*, *rājan*, *hatthin*, *silavant*, *sattar*.

184. **Prevalence of the *-a* declension.** There is a very strong tendency to build up a uniform and simple declension, avoiding all difficult forms, especially those that would entail the application of difficult sandhi rules. And the simplest of all the declensions is that of the stems in *-a* or thematic declension. Hence many new forms

have been built on the analogy of the thematic stems. *Aggi* has a genitive *aggissa*, an ablative *aggismā*, a locative *aggismim* just like *purisassa*, *puisasmā*, *purisasmim*. The stems in *ant* can optionally be declined on the model of the *a*-stems: *silavanto*, *silavantam*, *silavantena*, etc. This tendency had already started in Sanskrit in forming compounds: *anguli* / *dasangula*, *aksi* / *caturaksa*.

185. **Indistinctness of the gender.** Pali has retained the three genders as in Sanskrit. The distinction, however, between the masculine and the neuter nouns is seen only in the nominative, vocative and accusative singular and plural. And even in these cases, the distinction between the masculine and the neuter is not always clear, especially in poetry. In the Ratana Sutta we find *yāni bhūtāni* and *sabbe bhūtā* in the same stanza (Sn 222); in the Itivuttaka we find *tīni sukhāni* in the prose passage and *tayo sukhe* in poetry (Itv 67:5, 14); in the Majjhima Nikaya we find in the same sutta the nominative singular *daṇḍo* and the accusative plural *daṇḍāni* (MN I 373:2 and 374:10); *imāni padhānāni* / *ete padhānā* (AN II 74: 1, 25); *ye keci bhavā* / *sabba bhavāni* (Ud35: 15, 21); *nivesane* / *nivesanāni* (Sn 300, 305); *putto* / *puttāni* (Ud 17:29, 33); *manāpikē cakkhunā rūpe passitum* (Ud 30:27; *dhammāni* (Dpd 270); *pāṇe* (DN III 63:11); *pāṇāni* (Dpd 27); *pādāni dhovitvā* / *pāde pakkhāletvā* (Therī 176, 178).

Sometimes this variety of endings may be due to requirements of metre in poetry. On other occasions it may be due to the influence of the words that precede or follow. Thus in the Udāna we read *sabba puttāni* occurring soon after *sabba bhuttāni*. Again we read *manāpikē sadde manāpikē rase manāpikē gandhe* together with *manāpikē rūpe manāpikē photthabbe*.

In some cases the variety of endings may be due rather to the fact that Pali is on this point more closely connected with Vedic Sanskrit than with Classical Sanskrit. In Vedic Sanskrit the nominative plural of the neuter nouns ends more often in *-ā* than in *-āni*: *priyā* and also *priyāni*. The frequency of the case ending in *-ā* as compared with the case ending in *-āni* is in the proportion

of 3:2. Hence the Pali nominative plural *priyā*, besides *priyani*, would correspond to the same ending in Vedic.

Further, once there was a nominative in *-ā*, it was easy to build up an accusative plural in *-e* on the analogy of the masculine stems: *purisā* : *purisē* :: *rūpā* : *ripe*

186. **Loss of the dual.** Pali has retained the singular and the plural number but it has lost the dual. The main reason for its loss must have been the tendency towards simplification. It is not easy to remember forms that are somewhat difficult and that are used very rarely, i.e. when the subject of the verb consists of two persons or things. On the other hand, a phonetic reason may have helped towards the disappearance of the dual. The ending of the nominative, vocative and accusative dual in Sanskrit, in passing over into Pali, would be confused with some other case endings: *purusaū* would become *puriso* which is already the nominative singular, *nadyau* would become *nadiyo* or *najjo* which is the nominative plural.

187. **Loss of cases.** Both the dative and the ablative cases have been almost entirely lost in Pali.

The dative case takes the same ending as the genitive: *purisassa*, *purisānaṃ* are both genitive and dative. The only exception are the few dative cases in *-āya* of the thematic stems: *dassanāya*, *hitāya*, *sukhāya*

The ablative in Sanskrit was very often similar to the genitive in the singular and to the dative in the plural; in Pali the ablative has generally been assimilated to the instrumental both in the singular and in the plural: *agginā*, *aggihi* are both instrumental and ablative. The only exception are the stems in vowel. The thematic stems have an instrumental in *-ena*: *purisena* entirely different from the ablative *purisā*. Further all the stems in vowel have an alternative ending for the ablative borrowed from the pronominal declension: *-smā*: *purisasmā*, *aggismā*

188. **Loss of case endings.** The Sanskrit endings of the accusative plural of the masculine vowel stems have been lost since, in passing over into Pali, they coincide with the endings of the ac-

cusative singular. Thus the plural accusatives *purusān*, *agnān*, *bhiksūn* become in Pali *purisam*, *aggim*, *bhikkhum* which are the accusative singular. Having lost its proper ending, the accusative plural nearly always takes the same ending as the nominative plural, hence *aggayo* / *aggi*, *bhikkhavo* / *bhikkhū* are both nominative and accusative plural. The exceptions are the stems in *-a* which have the ending *-e* in the accusative plural: *purise*. Another reason for the loss of case endings is the loss of final consonants in Pali. Thus *purusāt* > *purisā*, *sālāḥ* > *sālā*, *agnīḥ* > *aggi*

The ending *-aiḥ* of the plural instrumental case of the stems in *-a* has been lost since in Pali it would become *-e* which is the ending of the locative singular and of the accusative plural. The instrumental and the ablative cases have the same ending in the plural: Skt *devaiḥ* > *devehi* in Pali.

In the stems in *-i*, *-u* the case endings of the genitive and of the locative singular have been lost. Skt *agneḥ*, *agnau*, *mṛdeḥ*, *mṛdau*. They have been replaced by *aggissa*, *aggino*, *aggismim*, *mudussa*, *muduno*, *mudusmim*.

The stems in *-ant* have lost in Pali the forms of the plural which entail difficult sandhi rules, i.e. *śilavadbhiḥ*, *śilavatsu*. The only exception is *sabbhi* < *sant*.

189. **Pronominal case endings.** In order to make up for the loss of some case endings, recourse is had to the case endings of the pronominal declension. Already in Sanskrit we find the pronominal endings *-ena*, *-sya*, *-esu* in the instrumental and genitive singular and in the locative plural of the stems in *-a*: *purusena*, *purusasya*, *purusesu* which become in Pali *purisena*, *purisassa*, *purisesu*. Besides these endings, in Pali we find also the endings *-smā*, *-smim* for the ablative and locative singular, and *-e*, *-ehi* for the accusative and instrumental plural: *purise*, *purisehi*

190. **Variety of case endings.** Though the tendency in Pali is towards simplification and uniformity, yet we find a variety of case endings. The Sanskrit forms *rājñāḥ*, *rājñā* develop into Pali as *rañño* and *raññā* with the assimilation of the two consonants. But a new

development arises from splitting up the consonant group with a vowel : *rajino*, *rājīnā*. The pronominal endings used in the declension of the nouns appear in two different ways owing to phonetic rules: *purisasmā* / *purisamha*, *purisasmim* / *purisamhi*.

Old forms derived directly from Sanskrit are found side by side with new forms. Sanskrit: *nadyā*, *nadyah*, *jātyā* become in Pali *najjā*, *najjo*, *jaccā*. New formations in Pali are *nadiyā*, *nadiyo*, *jātiyā*. Further Pali has some Vedic forms like *dhammā* / *dhammena*, *rūpā* / *rūpāni*, *panditāse* / *paṇḍitā*.

Pali has also some Magadhi forms like the nominative singular and plural in *e*: *bāle* / *bālo*, *paṇḍite* / *paṇḍito*, *sukhe* / *sukhāni*, *paṇḍitāse* / *paṇḍitā*, *rukkhāse* / *rukkhā*. The forms *paṇḍitāse*, *rukkhāse* have passed from Vedic into Magadhi.

Though the dative case has lost its proper endings, yet there are a few old datives still surviving: *sukhāya*, *hitāya*, *dassanāya*.

In order to avoid confusion between the nominative plural like *purisā* and the ablative singular *purisā* and between the accusative plural *purise* and the locative singular *deve*, pronominal endings have been used for the ablative and the locative singular: *purisasmā* / *purisamhā*, *purisasmim* / *purisamhi*.

On the analogy of *purisā*, *sālā* with the final long vowel, the stems in *-ī*, *-i*, *-ū*, *-u* have also a long vowel in the nominative plural: *jātī*, *nadī*, *dhenū*, *bhikkhū*.

Just as *purisam* has *purisehi*, *purisānam*, *purisesu*, so also *satthāram* has *satthārehi*, *satthārānam*, *satthāresu*.

To avoid difficult sandhi, the stems in *-ant* have the plural oblique cases from the stem *silavanta*: *silavantehi* *silavantānam*, *silavantesu*. Of the old forms, only one survives: *sabbhi* from *sant*.

191. **Vowel gradation.** The vowel gradation in the declension of the nouns has greatly lost its clearness in some cases, while in others it has entirely disappeared. This is due either to the desire to build up a simple uniform declension, or to the phonetic laws proper to the language.

While Sanskrit has *akṣi*, *akṣṇā*, *akṣṇah*, *akṣiṇi*, *akṣibhih*, *akṣṇām*, Pali has generalized the stem of the nominative: *akkhi*, *akkhino*, *akkhinā*, *akkhīni*, *akkhīhi*, *akkhinam*.

In nouns like *sattha*, *rājā*, a vowel is often inserted between the consonants of the weak grade and thus the vowel gradation is no longer clear: *satthrā* > *sattharā*, *rājñā* > *rājīnā*. Similarly in the plural the vowel of the stem is lengthened while it ought to be short according to the vowel gradation: *satthūhi*, *satthūsu* < *Skt śāstrbhih*, *śāstrsu*.

Again with the elimination of the Sanskrit vowel *r*, it is difficult to see how *u* alternates with *r* / *ār*: *satthu* : *sattharā* (*satthrā*): *satthāram*.

192. **Declension of thematic stems.** It will be easy to compare and contrast the Pali and the Sanskrit declensions if we place them side by side.

Sanskrit: deva		Pali: deva (god)	
Singular		Plural	
N.	<i>devah</i> <i>devo</i>	<i>devāḥ</i> <i>devā</i>	
V.	<i>deva</i> <i>deva</i>	<i>devāḥ</i> <i>devā</i>	
A.	<i>devam</i> <i>devam</i>	<i>devān</i> <i>deve</i>	
I.	<i>devena</i> <i>devena</i>	<i>devaiḥ</i> <i>devehi</i>	
Ab.	<i>devāt</i> <i>devā</i> , <i>devasmā</i>	<i>devebhyaḥ</i> <i>devehi</i>	
D.	<i>devāya</i> <i>devassa</i>	<i>devebhyaḥ</i> <i>devānam</i>	
G.	<i>devasya</i> <i>devassa</i>	<i>devānām</i> <i>devānam</i>	
L.	<i>deve</i> <i>deve</i> , <i>devasmim</i>	<i>devesu</i> <i>devesu</i>	

a). The changes that have taken place are the following:

<i>aḥ</i> > <i>o</i> :	<i>devah</i> > <i>devo</i>
<i>am</i> > <i>am</i> :	<i>devam</i> > <i>devam</i>
<i>āt</i> > <i>ā</i> :	<i>devāt</i> > <i>devā</i>

sya > ssa	devasya > devassa
āh > ā	devāh > devā
ām > am	devānām > devānaṃ

- b) The ablative and the locative singular *devā*, *deve* were liable to be confused with the nominative and the accusative plural; hence the alternative endings *-smā*, *-smim* were borrowed from the pronominal declension: *devasmā*, *devasmim* like *tasmā*, *tasmim*.
- c) The Sanskrit case ending *-āya* of the dative has been retained by the thematic stems when the dative case is used to indicate the goal or purpose: *dassanāya*, *hitāya*, *sukhāya*.
- d) The ending of the accusative plural *-ān* has been lost since in Pali it becomes *-aṃ* and coincides with the ending of the accusative singular. This loss is made good by the ending *-e* which is either borrowed from the pronominal declension or from the plural case endings *-e-hi*, *-e-su*, *purise*, *dhamme*.
- e) The endings of the instrumental and locative plural *ehi*, *esu* are borrowings from the pronominal declension and are already found in Vedic: *priyebhiḥ*, *priyeṣu*; *piyehi*, *piyesu* like *tehi*, *tesu*.
- f) In the declension of the neuter nouns Pali has in the nominative, vocative and accusative plural forms like *rūpā* besides *rūpāni*. Either these forms must be taken as coming directly from Vedic or they must be taken as required by the exigencies of metre in poetry or finally as a mixing up of genders.
- g) Both masculine and neuter thematic stems have a Magadhi ending *-e* in the nominative singular: *sukhe*, *dukkhe*, *kamme*, *sate* (MN I 517:23, 24, 34, 36); *vise*, *tiṃse* (MN I 518:1); *bāle*, *pandite* (DN I 155:29, 30); *attakāre* (DN I 153:28); *avitakke*, *avicare*, *paṇinātare* (DN II 278:16); *chave*, *sigāle*,

sihanāde (DN III 25.3, 4); *lokāmise*, *samyojane*, *pavutte* (MN II 254:25).

- h) There are some forms of the nominative plural ending in *-āse*. This form seems to go back to the Vedic nominative plural in *-āsas*: *priyāsas*; but the final vowel *-e* instead of *-o* is a Magadhiism: *upāsakāse*, *avita tanhāse*, *panditāse*, *sankhāta-dhammāse*, *samaṇa-brahmanāse* (Sn 376, 776, 875, 1079); *luddhāse*, *duṭṭhāse*, *mūlhāse*, *kuddhāse*, *makkhāse*, *mattāse* (Itv 1:10, 2:3, 16, 29; 3:7, 20); *gatāse*, *sāvakaṇse* (DN II 255:3; 272:20).
- i) The ending *-ā* which is sometimes used for the instrumental singular as in *sahatthā*, goes back to the Vedic instrumental case in *-ā*: *priyā* besides the more common *priyena*. The instrumental in *-sā* is built up on the analogy of the stems in *-s* whose nominative ends in *-o* just like the nominative of the thematic stems: *mano* : *manasā* :: *vego* : *vegasā*.
- j) The endings *-to*, *-so*, which are sometimes used in the sense of an ablative and of an instrumental case, go back to the adverbial Vedic endings *-tah*, *-saḥ*: *dakṣiṇataḥ* > *dakkhiṇato*.

193. Declension of stems in *-i* and *-u*.

Masculine stem : Sanskrit: *agni*, Pali: *aggi*

Neuter stem: Sanskrit: *vāri*, Pali: *vāri*

S I N G U L A R

N.	<i>agniḥ</i>	<i>aggi</i>	<i>vāri</i>	<i>vāri</i>	/ <i>vārim</i>
V	<i>agne</i>	<i>aggi</i>	<i>vāri</i>	<i>vāri</i>	/ <i>vārim</i>
A	<i>agnim</i>	<i>aggim</i>	<i>vāri</i>	<i>vāri</i>	/ <i>vārim</i>
I.	<i>agninā</i>	<i>agginā</i>	<i>vārinā</i>	<i>vārinā</i>	
Ab.	<i>agneḥ</i>	<i>agginā</i> / <i>aggismā</i>	<i>vāriṇaḥ</i>	<i>vārinā</i> / <i>vārisma</i>	
D.	<i>agnaye</i>	<i>aggino</i> / <i>aggissa</i>	<i>varine</i>	<i>vāriṇo</i> / <i>vāriṣsa</i>	

G.	agneh	aggino / aggissa	vāriṇaḥ	vārino / vārissa
L.	agnau	aggismim	varīṇi	varismim

P L U R A L

N.	agnayah	aggayo / aggī	vārini	vārini / vārī
V.	agnayah	aggayo / aggī	vārini	vārini / vārī
A.	agnīn	aggayo / aggī	vārīṇi	vārīṇi / vārī
I.	agnibhiḥ	aggihi	vārībhīḥ	vārīhi
Ab.	agnibhyaḥ	aggihi	vārībhyaḥ	vārīhi
D.	agnibhyaḥ	aggīnam	vārībhyaḥ	vārīnam
G.	agninām	aggīnam	vārīnām	vārīnam
L.	agniṣu	aggiṣu	vārīṣu	vārīṣu

- a). Both in Sanskrit and in Pali the stems in *-u* are declined like the stems in *-i*. When the stems in *-i* have *-e/-ay* the stems in *u* have *o/av*. Thus in Sanskrit we have *agneḥ, agnaye, agnayah / taroḥ, tarave, taravaḥ*. Similarly in Pali: *aggayo / taravo*.
- b). In Sanskrit the declension of the neuter stems in *-i, -u* differs from that of the masculine stems. In Pali only the nominative, vocative and accusative singular and plural correspond to the same cases in Sanskrit; the other cases are built up like those of the masculine stems.

- c). Merely phonetic are the changes of

-ih	> -i	agnih	> aggi
-im	> -im	agnim	> aggim
-ah	> -o	agnayah	> aggayo
-bhiḥ	> -hi	agnibhiḥ	> aggihi
-ām	> -am	agninām	> aggīnam

- d). The vocative, ablative, genitive and locative singular, and the accusative plural have lost their own endings. The

ablative takes the endings of the instrumental : *aggina* against Sanskrit *agneḥ*. The genitive takes the ending *-no*: *aggino* against Sanskrit *agneḥ*. The genitive in *-no* is either built on the analogy of the stems in *-in*: *aggino* like *pakkhino*; or is derived from the genitive of the neuter stems: *aggino* like Sanskrit *varīnaḥ*. Both the ablative and the genitive take the alternative pronominal endings *-smā, -ssa* on the analogy of the thematic stems *aggismā, aggissa* like *purisasmā, puisassa*. The vocative singular takes the same ending as the nominative, and the accusative plural takes the same ending as the nominative plural: N.V sg. *aggi*, pl. *aggayo / aggī*.

- e). The nominative plural is optionally formed with the lengthening of the vowel of the stem: *aggayo / aggī*. The form *aggī* is built on the analogy of the other vowel stems which have a long vowel in the plural, unless it is taken as a survival of the Sanskrit dual form.
- f). In the neuter stems, the nominative, vocative and accusative singular are alternately formed with the ending *-m* on the analogy of the thematic stems; and the nominative, vocative and accusative plural are also formed by lengthening the vowel of the stem on the analogy of the masculine stems in *-i*: *vārī / vārini, vārini / vārī*.

194. Declension of the feminine stems in *-ā*: Skt *śālā*, Pali *sālā*.

	Singular		Plural	
N.	śālā	sālā	śālāḥ	sālā / sālāyo
V.	śāle	sāle	śālāḥ	sālā / sālāyo
A.	śalam	sālam	śālāḥ	sālā / sālāyo
I.	śālayā	sālāya	śālābhīḥ	sālāhi
Ab.	śālāyāḥ	sālāya	śālābhyaḥ	sālāhi
D.	śālāyai	sālāya	śālābhyaḥ	sālānam
G.	śālāyāḥ	sālāya	śālānam	sālānam

L śālāyām sālāyam śālāsu sālāsu
sālāya

a). Merely phonetic are the following changes:

-am > -am śālām > sālām
-āḥ > -ā sālāḥ > sālā
-bhūh > -hi sālābhūh > sālāhi

b). In the singular the ending of the instrumental has been lost and the declension has been made uniform by keeping the vowel of the stem always long and by extending to the instrumental and to the dative the ending -yāḥ of the ablative and genitive. The vowel of the ending, however, has been shortened in Pali since it follows a long accented syllable: sālāya.

c). The locative has retained its proper ending, but it takes also the ending -yāḥ on the analogy of the other cases: sālāyam / sālāya.

d). With the loss of the final consonant, the nominative plural has become identical with the nominative singular: sālā > sālā, śālāḥ > sālā. Hence a new nominative plural has been formed on the analogy of the stems in -i: jāti : jātiyo :: sālā : sālāyo.

195. Declension of the feminine stems in -i, -ī, -u, -ū. It may be good here to give a brief outline of the evolution of this declension

In Vedic Sanskrit there is a fourfold division:

1. masculine and feminine stems in -ī, -u
2. neuter stems in -ī, -u
3. masculine and feminine stems ending in -ī, -ū which before a suffix change -ī, -ū > -y, -v.
4. masculine and feminine stems which, before a suffix, change -ī, -ū > -iy, -uv

In Classical Sanskrit there is also a fourfold division, though somewhat different, since masculine stems are different from feminine stems. Stems in -ī, -ū are only feminine in gender.

1. masculine stems in -ī, -u
2. neuter stems in -ī, -u
3. Feminine stems in -ī, -u, -ī, -ū which change to -y, -v before a suffix beginning with a vowel,
4. Feminine stems in -ī, -ū which change to -iy, -uv before a suffix beginning with a vowel.

In Pali this fourfold division has been reduced to two

1. masculine and neuter stems in -ī, -u
2. feminine stems in -ī, -ī, -u, -ū

All the feminine stems in Pali are declined in the same way, making allowance for the short or long vowel in the nominative and vocative singular and for the change of -ī, -ī, -u, -ū > -iy, -uy respectively before prefixes beginning with a vowel.

Skt; jāti, nadi, dhī; Pali: nadi

S I N G U L A R

N. jātiḥ	nadī	dhīḥ	nadī
V. jāte	nadī	dhīḥ	nadī
A. jātim	nadim	dhiyam	nadim
I. jātyā	nadyā	dhiyā	nadiyā
Ab. jātyāḥ	nadyāḥ	dhiyāḥ	nadiyā
D. jātyāḥ	nadyai	dhiyai	nadiyā
G. jātyāḥ	nadyāḥ	dhiyāḥ	nadiyā
L. jātyam	nadyam	dhiyi	nadiyam, nadiyā

P L U R A L

N.	jāṭayah	nadyah	dhiyah	nadiyo, nadi
V.	jāṭayah	nadyah	dhiyah	nadiyo, nadi
A.	jāṭih	nadih	dhiyah	nadiyo, nadi
I.	jāṭibhih	nadibhih	dhibhih	nadihi
Ab.	jāṭibhyah	nadibhyah	dhibhyah	nadihi
D.	jāṭibhyah	nadibhyah	dhibhyah	nadinam
G.	jāṭinām	nadinām	dhiyām	nadinam
L.	jāṭisu	nadisū	dhiṣu	nadisū

- a). Pali has generalized the development of *-i, -ī, -u, -ū > -iy, -uy* before terminations beginning with a vowel just as in monosyllabic stems in Sanskrit: *nadiyā, nadiyam, nadiyo, dhenuyā, dhenuyam, dhenuyo*.

On the other hand, Pali has generalized the endings of the polysyllabic stems:

-m, -ā, -āḥ, -am in the accusative, instrumental, genitive and locative singular *nadim > nadīm, nadyā > nadiyā, nadyāḥ > nadiyā, nadyām > nadiyam*;

-āḥ in the nominative, vocative and accusative plural *nadiyāḥ > nadiyo*;

-nām in the genitive plural *nadinām > nadinam*

In Pali both endings *-ā, -āḥ* have given rise to *-ā* which has been generalized to all the cases of the singular and has become optional even in the locative case: *nadyā, nadyāḥ > nadiyā, nadiyā / nadiyam*.

- b). In the plural, the accusative in *-ih* of the polysyllabic stems may have given rise to the alternative form with the long vowel: *nadiyo / nadi, jatiyo / jātī*.

- c). In the older language we find traces of the distinction that existed in Sanskrit: *jaccā < jātyā, najjā < nadyā, najjo < nadyāḥ*

196. Stems in *-s*. The neuter stems in *-s* are declined in Pali just as in Sanskrit, but only in the singular. These stems may also be declined, both in the singular and in the plural, like the neuter thematic stems i.e. like *rūpaṃ*.

N.V.A.	manas	mano
I.	manasā	manasā
Ab.	manasaḥ	manasā
D.	manase	
G.	manasaḥ	manaso
L.	manasi	manasi

197. Stem in *-ant*: Skt *śilavant*, Pali *śilavant*.

S i n g u l a r P l u r a l

N.V.	śilavan	śilavā	śilavantaḥ	śilavanto
A.	śilavantam	śilavantam	śilavataḥ	śilavanto
I.	śilavatā	śilavatā	śilavadbhiḥ	
Ab.	śilavataḥ	śilavatā	śilavadbhyah	
D.	śilavate	śilavato	śilavadbhyah	śilavatam
G.	śilavataḥ	śilavato	śilavatām	śilavatam
L.	śilavati	śilavati	śilavatsu	

- a). In the singular the stems in *-ant* in Pali are declined as in Sanskrit, except in the nominative and vocative where the final nasal is dropped and the vowel is lengthened *śilavan > śilavā*.
- b). In the plural the accusative takes the same ending as the nominative and thus appears in its strong form and not in its weak grade: Skt *śilavataḥ*, Pali *śilavanto*

- c). In the plural the endings of the instrumental, ablative and locative have been lost, most probably to avoid the difficult sandhi. The only forms still extant are *sabbhi*, *asabbhi* < *sant*.
- d). These stems may optionally be declined like the thematic stems by adding the vowel *-a* to the stem: *silavant + a*: *silavanto*, *silavantam*, *silavantena*...

198. Stems in *-in*: Skt *hastin*, Pali *hatthin*.

Singular		Plural	
N.	<i>hastī</i>	<i>hatthi</i>	<i>hastinaḥ</i> <i>hatthino</i>
V.	<i>hastin</i>	<i>hatthi</i>	<i>hastinaḥ</i> <i>hatthino</i>
A.	<i>hastinam</i>	<i>hatthinam</i>	<i>hastinaḥ</i> <i>hatthino</i>
I.	<i>hastinā</i>	<i>hatthinā</i>	<i>hastibhiḥ</i> <i>hatthiḥi</i>
Ab.	<i>hastinaḥ</i>	<i>hatthinā</i>	<i>hastibhyaḥ</i> <i>hatthiḥi</i>
D.	<i>hastine</i>	<i>hatthino</i>	<i>hastibhyaḥ</i> <i>hatthinam</i>
G.	<i>hastinaḥ</i>	<i>hatthino</i>	<i>hastinām</i> <i>hatthinam</i>
L.	<i>hastini</i>	<i>hatthini</i>	<i>hastiṣu</i> <i>hatthisu</i>

The Pali declension of the stems in *-in* corresponds to the Sanskrit declension of the same stems. The only innovation in Pali is the alternative formation of some cases on the analogy of the stems in *-i*: *hatthiṇ*, *hatthissa*, *hatthismā*, *hatthismim*, *hatthiḥi* like *aggiṇ*, *aggiṣsa*, *aggiṣmā*, *aggiṣmim*, *aggiḥi*.

199. Stems in *-an*: Skt *rājan*, Pali *rājan*.

Singular		Plural	
N.	<i>rājā</i>	<i>rājā</i>	<i>rājānaḥ</i> <i>rājāno</i>
V.	<i>rājan</i>	<i>rājā</i>	<i>rājānaḥ</i> <i>rājāno</i>
A.	<i>rājānam</i>	<i>rājānam</i>	<i>rājānaḥ</i> <i>rājāno</i>
I.	<i>rājāna</i>	<i>raññā</i> , <i>rājina</i>	<i>rājabhiḥ</i> <i>rājūhi</i>
Ab.	<i>rājānaḥ</i>	<i>raññā</i> , <i>rājina</i>	<i>rājabhyaḥ</i> <i>rājūhi</i>

D.	<i>rajñe</i>	<i>rañño</i> , <i>rajino</i>	<i>rājabhyaḥ</i> <i>rājūnam</i> , <i>raññam</i>
G.	<i>rājñah</i>	<i>rañño</i> , <i>rājino</i>	<i>rājñām</i> <i>rājūnam</i> , <i>raññam</i>
L.	<i>rajñi</i> , <i>rājani</i>	<i>rājini</i>	<i>rājasu</i> <i>rājūsu</i>

- a). When allowance is made for phonetic changes, the main differences between Pali and Sanskrit are

the insertion of the vowel *i* instead of *a* in the locative case: *Skt rājani* *Pali rājini*.

the use of the strong form for the accusative plural: *rājāno* against Skt *rājānaḥ*;

the change of the stem vowel *-a* > *-ū* in the plural, perhaps on the analogy of the stems in *-ar*: *rājūhi*; *satthūhi*.

200. Stems in *-ar*: Skt *dātar*, Pali *dātar*.

Singular		Plural	
N.	<i>dātā</i>	<i>dātā</i>	<i>dātāraḥ</i> <i>dātāro</i>
V.	<i>dātar</i>	<i>dātā</i> , <i>dāta</i>	<i>dātāraḥ</i> <i>dātāro</i>
A.	<i>dātāram</i>	<i>dātāram</i>	<i>dātāṇ</i> <i>dātāro</i>
I.	<i>dātrā</i>	<i>dātarā</i>	<i>dātrbhiḥ</i> <i>dātūhi</i>
Ab.	<i>dātuh</i>	<i>dātarā</i>	<i>dātrbhyaḥ</i> <i>dātūhi</i>
D.	<i>dātre</i>	<i>dātu</i>	<i>dātrbhyaḥ</i> <i>dātūnam</i>
G.	<i>dātuh</i>	<i>dātu</i>	<i>dātīnām</i> <i>dātūnam</i>
L.	<i>dātari</i>	<i>dātari</i>	<i>dātṛsu</i> <i>dātūsu</i>

The differences between Pali and Sanskrit are the following:

- a). In the instrumental singular the vowel *a* is inserted between the two consonants and thus *dātarā* is built on the same pattern as the locative *datari*.
- b). The final *-uh* and the semivowel *-r* have given rise to *-u*: *dātuh* > *dātu*; *datṛbhiḥ* > *dātūhi*.

- c). The prevalence of the vowel u has led to the building up of several forms on the analogy of the stems in -u both masculine and feminine; *dātuno*, *dātussa* like *bhikkhuno*, *bhikkhussa*; *mātuyā* like *dhenuyā*.
- d). The accusative singular *dātāraṃ* has given rise to new forms on the analogy of the thematic stems: *datārā*, *datārānam*, *dātārehi*, *datāresu*

CHAPTER XIV

EVOLUTION OF
THE PRONOUNS

In contrast with the inflection of the nouns which shows a marked tendency towards simplification, the declension of the pronouns is characterized by a variety of forms.

201. Personal pronouns.

Skt *aham*, *tvam* Pali *aham*, *tvam*

S i n g u l a r

N.	<i>aham</i>	<i>aham</i>	<i>tvam</i>	<i>tvam</i>
A.	<i>mām</i>	<i>maṃ</i>	<i>tvam</i>	<i>taṃ</i>
I.	<i>mayā</i>	<i>mayā</i>	<i>tvayā</i>	<i>tayā</i>
Ab.	<i>mad</i>	<i>mayā</i>	<i>tvad</i>	<i>tayā</i>
D.	<i>mahyam</i>	<i>mayham</i>	<i>tuhyam</i>	<i>tuyham</i>
		<i>mama</i>		<i>tava</i>
G.	<i>mama</i>	<i>mama</i>	<i>tava</i>	<i>tava</i>
		<i>mayham</i>		<i>tuyham</i>
L.	<i>mayi</i>	<i>mayi</i>	<i>tvayi</i>	<i>tayi</i>

P l u r a l

N.	vayam	mayam / amhe	yuyam	tumhe
A.	asmān	amhe	yusmān	tumhe
I.	asmābhiḥ	amhehi	yusmābhiḥ	tumhehi
Ab.	asmad	amhehi	yusmad	tumhehi
D.	asmabhyam	amhākam	yusmabhyam	tumhākam
G.	asmākam	amhākam	yusmākam	tumhākam
L.	asmāsu	amhesu	yusmāsu	tumhesu

a). Just as the declension of the nouns, so also the declension of the pronouns has no dual.

b). Merely phonetic are some of the changes undergone in passing from Sanskrit to Pali:

the final nasal consonant is changed to niggahita: *aham* > *aham*,
mam > *mam*;

the interchange of *hy* > *yh*: *mahyam* > *mayham*;

the change *sm* > *hm* > *mh*: *asmākam* > *amhākam*;

the loss of occlusion of *bh* > *h*: *asmābhiḥ* > *amhehi*;

the assimilation of consonants: *tv* > *tt* > *t*: *tvayi* > *ttayi* > *tayi*.

c). While the Sanskrit dative case has been lost in the declension of the nouns, it has here been preserved in the declension of the personal pronouns in the singular. Thus the dative case has both its own proper ending and the ending of the genitive as in the declension of the nouns: *mahyam* > *mayham* / *mama*, *tuyham* > *tuyham* / *tava*.

d). Pali has lost the ending of the Sanskrit ablative case and has replaced it with that of the instrumental case: Skt *mad*, *tvad*, *asmad*, *yusmad*, Pali *mayā*, *tayā*, *amhehi*, *tumhehi*

e). The nominative plural *mayam* may have been built under the influence of forms like *mam*, *mayā*, *mayi*.

f). *Asme* / *amhe* seem to go back to a rare Vedic form and may have been built in uniformity with the other cases *amhehi*, *amhākam*, *amhesu*.

g). *Tumhe* may have been formed on the analogy of *amhe* and on the generalization of the consonant *t*- in the plural. *tumhehi*, *tumhesu*.

h). The vowel *-e* in the plural seems to be due to the analogy of the demonstrative pronoun: *te* : *amhe*, *tumhe*; *tehi* : *amhehi*, *tumhehi*; *tesu* : *amhesu*, *tumhesu*.

i). Several alternative forms, already mentioned in no. 40, may be due to dialectical influences.

202. Demonstrative pronouns.

Skt *sah*, *sā*, *tad* Pali *so* *sā*, *taṃ*

S i n g u l a r

N.	sah	so	sā	sā
A.	taṃ	taṃ	tāṃ	taṃ
I.	tena	tena	tayā	tāya
Ab.	tasmat	tasma	tasyāḥ	tāya
D.	tasmai		tasyai	
G.	tasya	tassa	tasyāḥ	tāya / tassā
L.	tasmin	tasmin	tasyām	tāyam / tassam / tāsām

P l u r a l

N.	te	te	tāḥ	tā / tāyo
A.	taṃ	te	tāḥ	tā / tāyo
I.	taḥ	tehi	tābhiḥ	tāhi
Ab.	tebhyaḥ	tehi	tābhyaḥ	tāhi
D.	tebhyaḥ		tābhyaḥ	
G.	teṣāṃ	tesāṃ	tāsāṃ	tāsam / tāsānaṃ / tāsānaṃ

L. *tesu tesu tāsū tāsū*

a). Merely phonetic are the changes

sah > *so*, *tāh* > *tā*

tam > *tam*, *tesam* > *tesam*, *tāsām* > *tāsām*, *tasmin* > *tasmim*,

tasmat > *tasmā*, *tabhih* > *tāhi*

tasya > *tassa*, *tasyām* > *tassam* / *tāsām*

teṣu > *tesu*

b). Just as in the declensions of the nouns in Pali, so also here the accusative plural takes the same form as the nominative plural: *te*, *te*.

c). In the feminine this pronoun takes the same endings as the feminine stems in *-ā*: *tāya*, *tāyam*, *tāyo* like *sālāya*, *sālāyam*, *sālāyo*.

d). The feminine has also some new forms which seem to be analogical formations: *tissā*, *tissāya* for the genitive and *tissam* for the locative.

e). In the genitive plural *tesānam*, *tāsānam* seem to be double formations.

f). In the neuter the pronoun has *tam*, *tāni* respectively for the nominative and accusative singular and plural. In the singular the Sanskrit form is *tad* which in Pali appears in compounds: *tad-karo* > *takkaro*, *tad-evam*.

203. Demonstrative pronouns.

Skt *ayam*, *iyam*, *idam* Pali *ayaṃ*, *ayaṃ*, *idaṃ* / *imaṃ*

S i n g u l a r

N. *ayam* *ayaṃ* *iyam* *ayaṃ*

A. *imam* *imaṃ* *imāṃ* *imaṃ*

I. *anena* *iminā* *anayā* *imāya*

Ab. *asmāt* *imasmā* *asyāh* *imāya*

D. *asmai*

asyai

G. *asya* *imassa* / *assa* *asyāh* *imissā* / *assā*

L. *asmin* *imasmim* *asyām* *imissam*

P l u r a l

N. *ime* *ime* *imāh* *imā* / *imāyo*

A. *imān* *ime* *imāh* *imā* / *imāyo*

I. *ebhih* *imehi* *ābhih* *imāhi*

Ab. *ebhyaḥ* *imehi* *ābhyaḥ* *imāhi*

D. *ebhyaḥ* *ābhyaḥ*

G. *eśām* *imesam* *āsām* *imāsām*

L. *esu* *imesu* *āsu* *imāsu*

a). The neuter pronoun both in Sanskrit and in Pali is declined like the masculine pronoun with the exception of the nominative and accusative singular and plural: Skt *idam*, *imāni*, Pali *idaṃ* / *imaṃ*, *imāni*.

b). In Sanskrit the stems from which the forms of the declension of this pronoun are derived are *i-*, *a-*, *ana-*.

The stem *i-* is found in the masculine singular as *i-*, in the feminine singular as *i-*, in the neuter as *id-*. But these forms have been extended with the pronominal ending *-am* and thus the nominative singular of the three genders is *ayam*, *iyam*, *idam*. In *ayam* the vowel *i-* appears in its guna grade *-am*: *i-am* > *e-am* > *ayam*. In the feminine *i-am* > *iyam*.

From the stem *i-* there was an accusative *im*, but this form was also extended with the suffix of the accusative *-am* and thus we have the form *imam*. From this accusative form there was abstracted the stem *ima-* from which are derived the other cases *ime*, *imaṃ*, *imāni*.

The stem *a-* is used for the formation of other cases like *asmai*, *asya* etc. In the plural the vowel *a-* is lengthened to *e-* in the masculine and to *ā-* in the feminine: *e-bhih*, *ā-bhih*.

The stem *ana-* in Vedic the instrumental was *ena* / *aya* in the masculine and feminine respectively. The Sanskrit forms *anena*, *anayā* seem to have been derived from a stem *anā-* which is used as instrumental case in Avestan and which is still preserved as an adverb in Vedic in the sense of *therefore*.

In Vedic the stem *ima-* was extended to form other cases like *imasya*, *imasmai*.

- c). In Pali the declension of the masculine *ayam* corresponds to the Sanskrit inflection. Pali, however, has built alternatives and more commonly used forms from the stem *ima-*: *imasmā*, *imassa*, *imehi*, *imesu*, *imesam*.

The form *iminā* of the instrumental singular shows the tendency to change the vowel *a > i* just as in *tissā*, *tissam*, and seems to have been built on the analogy of *amunā* with the long vowel ending just as in the nominal declension.

The accusative plural is like the nominative.

- d). In the declension of the feminine stem only a few forms are historical: *imam*, *assā*, *imā*. Other forms have been built on the analogy of the feminine nominal stems in *-ā*: *imāya*, *imāyam*, *imāyo*, *imāhi*, *imāsu*, and partly also *imāsam*.
- e). The forms *esānam*, *imesānam*, *imāsānam*, *assāya*, *imissāya* are double formations.
- f). In the neuter the only difference is that Pali uses for the singular both *idam* / *imam* as compared with the Sanskrit *idam* only

204. Demonstrative pronouns.

Skt: *asau*, *asau*, *adaḥ* Pali: *asu/amu*, *asu*, *adum*

Singular

N.	<i>asau</i>	<i>asu / amu</i>	<i>asau</i>	<i>asu</i>
A.	<i>amum</i>	<i>amum</i>	<i>amum</i>	<i>amum</i>
I.	<i>amunā</i>	<i>amunā</i>	<i>amuyā</i>	<i>amuyā</i>
Ab.	<i>amuṣmāt</i>	<i>amusmā</i>	<i>amuṣyāḥ</i>	<i>amuyā</i>
D.	<i>amuṣmai</i>		<i>amuṣyai</i>	
G.	<i>amuṣya</i>	<i>amussa</i>	<i>amuṣyāḥ</i>	<i>amussā / amuyā</i>
L.	<i>amusmīn</i>	<i>amusmum</i>	<i>amuṣyām</i>	<i>amussam / amuyam</i>

Plural

N.	<i>amī</i>	<i>amū</i>	<i>amūh</i>	<i>amū / amuyo</i>
A.	<i>amūn</i>	<i>amū</i>	<i>amūh</i>	<i>amū / amuyo</i>
I.	<i>amibhih</i>	<i>amūhi</i>	<i>amūbhih</i>	<i>amūhi</i>
Ab.	<i>amibhyah</i>	<i>amūhi</i>	<i>amūbhyah</i>	<i>amūhi</i>
D.	<i>amibhyah</i>		<i>amūbhyah</i>	
G.	<i>amiṣām</i>	<i>amūsam / amūsānam</i>	<i>amūṣām</i>	<i>amūsam / amūsānam</i>
L.	<i>amiṣu</i>	<i>amūsu</i>	<i>amūsu</i>	<i>amūsu</i>

- a). In Pali the stem *amu-* has been generalized; hence the forms *amū*, *amūhi* against Sanskrit *amī*, *amibhih*
- b). In the masculine the only innovation is the form *amu* besides *asu*. Further in the genitive there is the double formation *amūsānam*. In the nominative singular there is a slight change owing to the rule of phonetics: *asau > asu*.
- c). In the feminine several new forms have been built up on the analogy of the noun stems in *-u*: *dhenu*. The starting point of such new forms may have been the stem *amu-*

itself and the instrumental singular *amuyā* which corresponds to *dhenuyā*. The new forms are *amuyā* in the genitive, *amuyam* in the locative singular, and *amuyo* in the nominative and accusative plural. *amusānam* is double genitive.

- d) In the neuter Pali has *adum* in nominative and accusative singular and *amūni* / *amū* in the nominative and accusative plural. These forms correspond to the Sanskrit forms *adah* / *amūni*. In Pali the nominative singular has been formed on the analogy of the nominal stems. Just as *adum* is formed on the analogy of *assum*, so also in the plural *amūni* / *amū* are formed on the analogy of *assūni*, *assū*.

205. Relative and interrogative pronouns. The relative pronoun *ya* and the interrogative pronoun *ka* are inflected both in Sanskrit and Pali like the demonstrative pronoun *sah* / *sā*, *so/sā*. In Sanskrit there is the neuter form *yad* like *tad* while in Pali there is *yam* / *yad*. Both Sanskrit and Pali have a form *kim* as neuter of *ka*. New formations in Pali are the cases of *kiṃ*: *kissa*, *kismā*, *kismim* on the analogy of *tissā*, *tissam*, *imissā*, *imissam*.

CHAPTER XV

EVOLUTION OF NUMERALS

206. Cardinal numerals. The Pali cardinal numerals generally correspond to the Sanskrit cardinal numerals.

1	<i>eka</i>	<i>eka</i>
2	<i>dvi</i>	<i>dvi</i>
3	<i>tri</i>	<i>ti</i>
4	<i>catur</i>	<i>catu</i>
5	<i>pañca</i>	<i>pañca</i>
6	<i>ṣaṣ</i>	<i>cha</i>
7	<i>sapta</i>	<i>satta</i>
8	<i>aṣṭa</i>	<i>aṭṭha</i>
9	<i>nava</i>	<i>nava</i>
10	<i>daśa</i>	<i>dasa</i>
11	<i>ekadaśa</i>	<i>ekādasa</i> / <i>ekārāsa</i>
12	<i>dvādaśa</i>	<i>dvādasa</i> / <i>bārāsa</i>
13	<i>trayodaśa</i>	<i>terasa</i> / <i>teḷasa</i>
14	<i>caturdaśa</i>	<i>catuddasa</i> / <i>cuddasa</i>

15	pañcadaśa	pañcadasa / pañnarasa / pannarasa
16	soḍaśa	solasa / sorasa
17	saptadaśa	sattadasa / sattarasa
18	astādaśa	aṭṭhadasa / aṭṭhārasa
19	ekūnavimśati	ekūnavīsati
20	vimśati	visati / visā / visa / visam
22	dvāvimśati	dvāvisati / bāvisati
23	trayovimśati	tevisati / tevisa
24	caturvimśati	catuvīsati / catuvīsa / catubbisa
25	pañcavimśati	pañcavīsati / pañcavīsa / pañnavīsati
26	ṣaḍvimśati	chabbīsati
30	triṃśat	tiṃsati / tiṃsā / tiṃsam / tiṃsa
33	trayastrimśat	tetiṃsati, tetiṃsa
36	ṣaṭ-trimśat	chattimśati
40	catvārimśat	cattālīsati / cattālīsā / cattārīsā
42	dvicatvārimśat	dvicattālīsati
	dvācatvārimśat	dvācattālīsa
43	trayascatvārimśat	teccattālīsa
50	pañcāśat	paññāsa / pannāsa
52	dvipañcāśat	dvepaññāsa
	dvāpañcāśat	dvāpaññāsa
56	satpañcāśat	chapaññāsa
60	ṣaṣṭi	saṭṭhi
62	dvaṣaṣṭi	dvāsaṭṭhi / dvaṭṭhi
70	saptati	sattati
80	aśīti	asiti

82	dvyaśīti	dveasiti
84	caturāsīti	caturāsīti / cullāsīti / cūlāsīti
90	navati	navuti
92	dvānavati	dvānavuti
	dvīnavati	dvenavuti
96	ṣaṇṇavati	channavuti
100	satam	sataṃ

The evolution of the numerals from Sanskrit into Pali show phonetic changes which are not of common occurrence in Pali, but seem to be due to various dialectical influences

- In Sanskrit compounds the numeral *dvī* sometimes remains unchanged and sometimes is used in the dual number. In Pali the form *dvī* sometimes is retained as in *dvīsattālīsati*; sometimes is changed to *dve*: *dvepaññāsa*, *dve asiti*, *dve navuti*; sometimes it retains the Sanskrit dual ending. *dvādasā*, *dvāvisati*, *dvācattālīsa*, *dvāsaṭṭhi*, *dvanavuti*.
- The group *dv* is sometimes assimilated to *bb* *dvādasā* > *bbārasa* > *bārasa*, *dvāvisati* > *bbāvisati* > *bāvisati*. The same assimilation takes place in *ṣaḍ-vimśati* > *chabbīsati*, *catur-vimśa* > *catuvvīsa* > *catubbisa*.
- The Sanskrit form *trayas* is represented in Pali by *te*: *trayodaśa* > *terasa*, *trayovimśati* > *tevisati*, *trayas-catvārimśat* > *tecattālīsa*.
- The stem *catur* has given rise to the several forms: *caturāsīti*, *catuddasa*, *catubbisa* (< *catuvvīsa* < *catur-vīsa*), *catuvīsati* (*catu-vīsati* < *catur - vīsati* with the final *r* dropped), *cuddasa* (< *coddasa* < *ca-uddasa* < *caturdaśa* with the loss of the consonant *t*, the assimilation of *r* > *d* and the weakening of the vowel *o* before two consonants. *Cūlāsīti* / *cullāsīti* < *colāsīti* < *ca-urasīti* < *caturasīti*: in this development the dental consonant is dropped, the vowels are

contracted and then weakened, the double consonant is simplified with the lengthening of the previous vowel, the consonant *r* is changed to *l*.

- e) The Sanskrit consonant group *ñc* is represented in Pali by *ñc, ññ, ñṇ, nn*: *pañcadaśa* > *pañcadasa, paṇṇarasa, pannarasa*; *pañcāśat* > *paññāsa, paṇṇāsa*
- f). The numeral *śaṣ* > *cha* with the initial consonant aspirated. The final Sanskrit consonant reappears in compounds as a cerebral *ḷ* > *chaḷabhiññā*. There is also the change of *śaṣ* > *saḷ*:- *saḷāyatanam*. In poetry we find also *saḍabhiññā*. In numerals *śaṣ* > *cha* and the final consonant is assimilated to the following consonant: *chabbisati, chattimsati, channavuty* but *chapaññāsa*.
- g). The consonant *d* of *daśa* has been changed to *r* and this consonant has been changed to *ḷ* *ekādasa / ekārasa, terasa / teḷasa, cattārīsa / cattālīsa, sorasa / soḷasa*.
- h). In *visati* < *viṃśati* the nasal has been dropped and the vowel lengthened.
- i). In *triṃśat* > *timsā / tiṃsa / timsam* the final consonant has been dropped and then the vowel has sometimes been lengthened and sometimes nasalized. A new form *timsati* appears on the analogy of *visati*.
- j). Pa.i has *navuti* for Sanskrit *navati* due to the influence of the consonant *v*.

CHAPTER XVI

EVOLUTION OF THE VERBAL SYSTEM

207. Simplification of the conjugations and of the classes. In Sanskrit the verbs are divided into two conjugations

thematic conjugation

athematic conjugation

The thematic conjugation is characterized by the fact that the stem of the present ends in *-a* since it is formed with one of the suffixes *-a, -ya, -aya*;

the stem of the present remains unchanged in the inflection; v.g. *labh-a-si, labh-a-ti, labh-a-tha, labh-a-nti*.

The athematic conjugation is characterized by the fact that the stem of the present is either the verbal root or the verbal root with one of the suffixes *-u-, -nu-, -nā*

the stem of the present changes, being either strong or weak, according as the accent is on the root or on the suffix;

v.g. *as-mi: s-anti, juho-mi: juhu-mah, kṛiṇā-mi: kṛiṇi-mah*.

The advantage of the thematic over the athematic conjugation is obvious.

it retains the stem unchanged

it inserts the suffix -a (-ya, -aya) between the verbal root and the personal endings, avoiding all vowel and consonant combinations

The thematic conjugation comprises the first, the fourth, the sixth and the tenth class.

The athematic conjugation comprises the second, the third, the fifth, the seventh, the eighth and the ninth class.

In Pali the distinction between the two conjugations has almost entirely disappeared:

The vowel alternation has disappeared as part of a regular system, for, while Sanskrit carefully distinguishes between strong and weak forms, in Pali either the strong or the weak form has been generalized.

Sanskrit: *karoti* : *kurvanti* *chinatti* : *chindanti*

Pali: *karoti* : *karonti* *chindati* : *chindanti*

Consonant stems have generally been eliminated in Pali by the addition of the thematic vowel -a:

Sanskrit: *chinatsi* : *chindmah*

Pali: *chindasi* : *chindāma*

These changes have affected the formation of the stem of the present of the verb, and thus the division of the verbs into ten classes has also been simplified. The present stem of the verbs of the second and of the seventh class takes the suffix -a.

Sanskrit: *hanti* *chinatti*

Pali: *hanati* *chindati*

Some of the verbs of the second class pass over to the first class: *bru-* has *bravamī* as *bhū-* has *bhavāmi*.

The verbs of the seventh class form the stem of the present on the pattern of those of the sixth class which insert a nasal before the last consonant. The root *chid-* forms the present stem *chinda-* just as *muc-* has *muñca-*.

The verbs of the fifth class form the present stem with the suffix -no (the strong form of -nu), but they generally pass over to the ninth class and take the suffix -nā: *suṇāti* is more common than *sunoti*.

The verbs of the third class are inflected like the reduplicated verbs of the first class: *jahati* like *tiṭṭhati*. Even *juhoti* has an alternative form *juhati*.

In the eighth class, *karoti* has many forms built on the pattern of the -a stems: *kubbati*, *kara*, *kareyyāti*, *karamāna*.

In this process towards simplification and uniformity, the prevalence of the vowel -a is obvious. The prevalence of the vowel -a over all the other vowels is already a feature of Sanskrit as compared with the other Indo-European languages. Pali has inherited this characteristic and has extended its application still more. In fact, with the exception of a few verbs like *karoti*, *hoti*, *pappoti*, *atthi*, all the others form their present stem with the vowel -a or -ā, or with a suffix ending in -a or -ā: *bhavati*, *suṇāti*, *cintayati*.

An innovation in Pali is the formation of the stem of the present with the vowel -e. This is merely the contraction of -aya and the contracted form has almost entirely replaced the ordinary form. This occurs in verbs of the first class like *neti* for *nayati*, in verbs of the tenth class like *cinteti* for *cintayati*, in causative and denominative verbs like *kāreti* for *kārayati*, *dhūmeti* for *dhūmayati*. The stem in -e is also found in the forms derived from the root *i-* of the second class: *emi*, *ehisi*, *pacceti*, *upecca*. This type has grown to such an extent that the Pali verbs might be divided into two types: stems in -a and stems in -e.

It has already been mentioned that in Pali several verbs form the stem of the present in more than one way and thus they may be classified under different classes. In this respect also Pali comes closer to Vedic than to classical Sanskrit.

<i>jit-</i>	Vedic	I	<i>jayati</i>	II	<i>jeti</i>	IX	<i>jināti</i>
	Pali		<i>jayati</i>		<i>jeti</i>		<i>jināti</i>
<i>jī-</i>	Vedic	I	<i>jarati</i>	IV	<i>jīryati</i>		
	Pali		<i>jarati</i>		<i>jīyati</i>		

Some of the double Vedic forms are not represented in the simple present in Pali, but such double forms must be postulated to explain some other derived formations: the causative *tīreti* has not been derived from *tarati* but from the Vedic present *tīrati*; the present participle *asamāna* has been derived from Vedic *asatī* and not from the present in Pali *asanāti*.

Some of the double forms in Pali do not go back to Vedic but are new formations in the language, often due to analogy. Thus *sambhunāti* from the root *bhū-* may be due to the analogy of *luṇāti* from *lu-*.

A completely new formation in Pali is *kubbati* which is inflected like any other verb of the first class. It is usually derived from the present third person plural of *kṛ-*: *kurvanti*. Some other new forms worth mentioning are *payacchati* 'offers' usually derived from *pra-yam-*, while *munāti* 'thinks' seems to be a dialectical form of *maññati* from *man-*.

208. **Inflection of the verb.** In Vedic Sanskrit the inflection of the verb was rather rich in forms. The process of simplification, however, began very soon in Vedic and continued in classical Sanskrit and in Pan. It may be good to show at a glance this process of simplification of the finite forms of the verb.

	V e d i c	S a n s k r i t	P a l i
Present	Indicative	Indicative	Indicative
	Subjunctive		(Subjunctive)
	Injunctive		
	Optative	Optative	Optative

	Imperative	Imperative	Imperative
Imperfect	Indicative	Indicative	
Future	Indicative	Indicative	Indicative
	Conditional	Conditional	Conditional
Aorist	Indicative	Indicative	Indicative
	Subjunctive		
	Injunctive		
	Optative		
	Imperative		
	Precative	Precative	
Perfect	Indicative	Indicative	(Indicative)
	Subjunctive		
	Injunctive		
	Optative		
	Imperative		

Pluperfect Indicative

The inflection of the verb is thus comparatively simple in Pali as contrasted with Sanskrit and Vedic. In the Pali poetry there are a few forms that appear to be subjunctive. Further there are two perfect in Pali canonical literature and a few more in post-canonical literature.

In the conjugation of the verb in Pali, the dual has been lost just as in the declension of the nouns.

Pali has retained both the active and the middle voice, but the personal endings of the middle voice are very seldom used. Even the passive verbs usually take the personal endings of the active voice: Skt *labhate*, *vardhate* Pali *labhati*, *vaddhati*.

209. **Extension of the present stem.** Another innovation in Pali is the extension of the present stem.

In Sanskrit the various verbal forms are built by adding suffixes either to the root of the verb or to the present stem. The suffixes are generally added directly, but sometimes also by means of the connecting vowel *-i*. From the stem of the present are formed the indicative, the imperative, the present participle, the optative and the imperfect. All the other verbal forms are built up from the root of the verb.

In Pali the various verbal forms may be built just as in Sanskrit. But very soon the tendency towards simplicity and uniformity led to making an extensive use of the present stem, which itself had already been simplified. The starting point of this growing extension was the fact that in some verbs like *labh-* both the root and the stem of the present coincided: *labh-* and *labh-a*. Further, greater simplicity was achieved by adding the suffixes by means of the connecting vowel *-i*. The result has been that every verbal form in Pali may be built from the present stem. This will become clear by means of an example.

Verbal root: *gam-*; present stem *gacch-*

	Sanskrit	Pali
Present indicative	<i>gacchati</i>	<i>gacchati</i>
Imperative	<i>gaccha</i>	<i>gaccha</i>
Optative	<i>gacchet</i>	<i>gacche, gaccheyya</i>
Present participle	<i>gacchan</i>	<i>gaccham, gacchanto</i>
Aorist	<i>agamat</i>	<i>agama, agacchi</i>
Future	<i>gamiṣyati</i>	<i>gamiṣṣati, gacchissati</i>
Past participle	<i>gata</i>	<i>gata, gacchita</i>
Future Participle	<i>gantavya</i>	<i>gantabba, gacchitabba</i>
Infinitive	<i>gantum</i>	<i>gantum, gacchitum</i>
Gerund	<i>gatvā</i>	<i>gantvā, gacchitvā</i>

Further, even the causative and the passive can be formed from the present stem: *chid-*: causative *chedeti* and *chindāpeti*; passive *chijjati* and *chindiyati*.

210. Personal endings.

a). Active endings

Primary: Skt *-mi, -si, -ti, -mah, -tha, -anti/-ati*

Pali *-mi, -si, -ti, -ma, -tha, -anti*

Secondary: Skt *-m/-am, -s, -t, -ma, -ta, -an/-ur*

Pali *-m/-am, -s, -t, -ma, -tha, -u/-um*

The Pali primary endings correspond exactly to the same endings in Sanskrit. Pali, however, has lost the ending *-ati* which in Sanskrit is used for the third person plural of the verbs of the third class:

Skt: *dadāti jahati* Pali: *dadanti jahanti*

In the secondary endings the only innovations in Pali are:

- the generalization of the aspirate consonant in the second person plural on the analogy of the primary endings: Pali *-tha* against Skt *-ta*: Skt *agamata*, Pali *agamatha*;
- the disappearance of the ending *-an* in the third person plural, while the ending *-ur* has given rise either to the simple *-u* with the loss of the final consonant, or to *-u* with the nasalization of the vowel before an *-s*, or to *-um* with the nasalization of the vowel. Skt *abhuvan, agaman, akarsur*, Pali *ahu, agamum, akamsu*.

b). Middle endings:

Primary: Skt *-e, -se, -te, -mahe, -dhve, -ante/-ate*

Pali *-e, -se, -te, -mhe, -vhe, -ānte/re*

Secondary: Skt *-i, -thāh, -ta, -mahī, -dhvam, -anta/ata/ran*

Pali *-m/am, -tho, -tha, -mase, -vho, -re/rum/ram*

In the Pali primary middle endings

- a) the Sanskrit vowel *-a* has been lost in the first person plural: *-mahe* > *-mhe*,
- b) in the second person plural *dh-* has lost its occlusion: *-dhve* > *-hve* > *-vhe*,
- c) in the third person plural, the ending *-ate* has been lost and *-ante* is used for all the verbs since the Sanskrit distinction between the thematic and the athematic conjugation has practically disappeared in Pali.
- d) A new ending appears in Pali in the third person plural: *-re* which is already found in Sanskrit in the perfect tense: *cakrire*, *jagmire*, and in the Vedic third person plural *sere* from *śi-* 'to lie'.

In the secondary middle endings,

- a) the Sanskrit ending *-i* of the first person has been lost and has been replaced by the secondary active ending *-m/ -am*;
- b) in the second person *-thāh* has given rise to *-tho* perhaps through a process of shortening: *-thāh* > *-thah* > *-tho*;
- c) in the first person plural *-mase* seems to be the middle ending corresponding to the Vedic active ending *-masi*;
- d) in the second person plural the consonant *-dh* loses its occlusion and the final *-am* is reduced to *-o*: *-dhvam* > *-hvam* > *-vham* > *-vho*;
- e) in the third person plural, the Skt ending *-anta* and *-ata* have been lost, and there is in their place *-ram* and sometimes also *-re / -rum*. These ending, however, are very rare

211. Present indicative. Skt *labh-*, Pali *labh-* 'to obtain'

Active		Middle	
Skt	Pali	Skt	Pali
1. <i>labhāmi</i>	<i>labhāmi</i>	<i>labhe</i>	<i>labhe</i>
2. <i>labhasi</i>	<i>labhasi</i>	<i>labhase</i>	<i>labhase</i>
3. <i>labhati</i>	<i>labhati</i>	<i>labhate</i>	<i>labhate</i>
1. <i>labhāmaḥ</i>	<i>labhāma</i>	<i>labhāmahe</i>	<i>labhamhe</i>
2. <i>labhatha</i>	<i>labhatha</i>	<i>labhadhve</i>	<i>labhavhe</i>
3. <i>labhanti</i>	<i>labhanti</i>	<i>labhante</i>	<i>labhante, labhare</i>

In the first person plural in Pali, besides *labhamhe* there is also *labhamahe*, *labhamase*, *labhamhase*. The ending *-mahe* of *labhamahe* is the historical Sanskrit ending, but it is found only in poetry. The ending *-mase* of *labhamase* seems to be the middle ending corresponding to the Vedic active ending *-masi*. The ending *-mhase* of *labhamhase* seems to be a combination of *-mhe* and *-mase*

212. Present imperative. Skt *labh-*, Pali *labh-* 'to obtain'

Active		Middle	
1. <i>labhāni</i>		<i>labhai</i>	
2. <i>labha</i>	<i>labha, labhāhi</i>	<i>labhasva</i>	<i>labhassu</i>
3. <i>labhatu</i>	<i>labhatu</i>	<i>labhatam</i>	<i>labhatam</i>
1. <i>labhāma</i>		<i>labhāmahaḥ</i>	
2. <i>labhata</i>	<i>labhatha</i>	<i>labhadhvam</i>	<i>labhavho</i>
3. <i>labhantu</i>	<i>labhantu</i>	<i>labhantam</i>	<i>labhantam</i>

- a) The imperative in Pali has lost the first person singular and plural. Even in Skt these were in reality subjunctive forms.
- b) In Skt the thematic stems have the simple stem in the second person singular, while the athematic stems take the ending *-hi / -dhi*: *labha*, *ihi*, *juhudhi*. In Pali this distinction has been lost. All the stems ending in *-a / -ā* have either

the stem or the ending *-hi* in the second person singular. The stem must end in a short vowel, while the ending *-hi* must be preceded by a long vowel: *labha*, *labhāhi*, *suṇa*, *suṇahi*. The present stems ending in *-e* / *-o*, form the second person of the imperative with the suffix *-hi*: *ehi*, *dehi*, *cintehi*, *karohi*, *hohi*.

- c). In the second person plural active, the consonant of the ending has been aspirated in Pali: Skt *labhata* Pali *labhatha*.
d). In the second person singular middle, the ending *-ssu* corresponds to the Sanskrit ending *-sva*, but the final vowel *-u* may be due to the influence of the preceding *-v*, or may be an analogical formation under the influence of other forms ending in *-u*: *labhatu*, *labhantu*.

e). For the change of *-dhvam* > *-vho*, see no. 210.

213. Subjunctive. Vedic Sanskrit has an injunctive which was an imperfect or an aorist without the augment. Since this formation was not quite clear, it was soon lost with the exception of the first person singular, dual and plural which became part of the subjunctive in Sanskrit. The subjunctive was formed by adding the vowel *-a* to the stem of the present:

<i>bhū-</i> :	<i>bhava-a</i>	<i>bhavā-</i>
<i>yuj-</i> :	<i>junj-a</i>	<i>junja-</i>
<i>hu-</i> :	<i>juho-a</i>	<i>juhava-</i>

The conjugation of the subjunctive in Vedic was as follows:

Singular: <i>bhavāni</i>	Dual: <i>bhavāva</i>	Plural: <i>bhavāma</i>
<i>bhavāsi</i>	<i>bhavāthah</i>	<i>bhavātha</i>
<i>bhavāti</i>	<i>bhavātah</i>	<i>bhavān</i>

In classical Sanskrit this subjunctive was lost, but the first person singular, dual and plural were retained in the imperative.

In the Pali canonical language there are some verbal forms with the thematic vowel long which is a sign of the subjunctive. In some

cases the long vowel may be due to the exigencies of the metre, but there are a few cases which seem to be genuine subjunctive. Such are *vitārāsi*, *gacchāsi*, *kāmayāsi*, *cajāsi*

214. Optative.

S a n s k r i t

P a l i

1. <i>bhaveyam</i>	<i>chindyām</i>	<i>bhaveyyam</i>	<i>bhave</i>	<i>bhaveyyāmi</i>
2. <i>bhaveh</i>	<i>chindyah</i>	<i>bhave</i>	<i>bhaveyya</i>	<i>bhaveyyāsi</i>
3. <i>bhavet</i>	<i>chindyāt</i>	<i>bhave</i>	<i>bhaveyya</i>	<i>bhaveyyāti</i>
1. <i>bhavema</i>	<i>chindyāma</i>	<i>bhavema</i>		<i>bhaveyyāma</i>
2. <i>bhaveta</i>	<i>chindyāta</i>	<i>bhavetha</i>		<i>bhaveyyātha</i>
3. <i>bhaveyuh</i>	<i>chindyuh</i>	<i>bhaveyyu</i>	<i>bhaveyyum</i>	

- a). In Sanskrit the optative is formed from the stem of the present with the suffix *-yā* / *-ī* and the secondary personal endings. The verbs of the first conjugation take the suffix *-ī* while the verbs of the second conjugation take the suffix *-yā*. In Pali the distinction between the two conjugations has been lost and the optative is formed from the present stem in *-a* since nearly all the Pali verbs have a stem in *-a*. Even *juhōti* has a present *juhāti* and *karoti* has a stem *kara*.
- b). In poetry there are some optative forms built up with the suffix *-yā* derived directly from Sanskrit: *jān-yā-m* > *jaññam*, *jān-yā-t* > *jaññā*, *kar-yā-t* > *karyā* > *kayirā*, *dad-yā-um* > *dajjum*.
- c). Of the optative formed with the suffix *-ī* there are many examples which are found chiefly in poetry: *bhava-ī-am* > *bhaveyam* > *bhaveyyam*, *bhava-ī-t* > *bhavet* > *bhave*. After the vowel *-e* Pali usually doubles the semivowel *-y*. Further, in the second person plural the ending has the aspirate. *bhavetha* against Skt *bhaveta*.
- d). In the first person singular Pali has a form *bhave* built on the pattern of the second and third person, and we have in the singular *bhave*, *bhave*, *bhave* for the three persons

- e) The first person *bhaveyyam* has given rise to the forms *bhaveyya*, *bhaveyya* for the second and third person singular and *bhaveyyum* for the third plural
- f). Joining together these various forms we can discern two rather uniform formations

1. <i>bhaveyyam</i>	<i>bhave</i>
2. <i>bhaveyya</i>	<i>bhave</i>
3. <i>bhaveyya</i>	<i>bhave</i>
1.	<i>bhavema</i>
2.	<i>bhavetha</i>
3. <i>bhaveyyum</i>	<i>bhaveyyu</i>

- g) Pali has developed a completely new optative. The starting point may have been the first person singular of the present and of the future. In this first person the final vowel may be dropped: *bhavāmi* / *bhavam*, *bhavissāmi* / *bhavissam*. In the formation of the optative the process may have been the reverse in so far as a final vowel *-i* may have been added, thus *bhaveyyam* / *bhaveyyāmi*. From this form a kind of composite suffix *eyya-* has been abstracted. Thus the new optative is formed by adding to the stem of the present, without the final vowel, the suffix *-eyyā* and the primary personal endings: *bhava-eyyā-mi* > *bhav-eyyā-mi* > *bhaveyyāmi*, *bhaveyyāsi*, *bhaveyyāti*, etc. But in this formation the third person plural is missing and is replaced by the form in *-eyyum* like *bhaveyyum*.

- h). In a few cases we find forms of the middle optative; some of them are built up with the suffix *-ī* and some with the suffix *-eyyā*.

Sanskrit	Pali
1. <i>Labheya</i>	<i>labheyyam</i>
2. <i>labhethah</i>	<i>labhetho</i>
3. <i>labheta</i>	<i>labhetha</i>

1. <i>labhemahi</i>	<i>labhamase</i> ,	<i>labheyyamhe</i>
2. <i>labhedhvam</i>		<i>labheyyavho</i>
3. <i>labheran</i>	<i>labheram</i>	

The difference in the personal endings between Sanskrit and Pali has already been explained in no 210

- i). Optative of the verb *as-* 'to be':

1. <i>syām</i>	<i>assam</i> , <i>siyam</i>
2. <i>syāḥ</i>	<i>assa</i>
3. <i>syāt</i>	<i>assa</i> , <i>siyā</i>
1. <i>syāma</i>	<i>assāma</i>
2. <i>syāta</i>	<i>assatha</i>
3. <i>syuḥ</i>	<i>assu</i> , <i>siyum</i>

The only historical forms in Pali are *siyam*, *siyā*, *siyum*. The consonant group has been split with the insertion of the vowel *-i*.

Pali has done away with the weak grade of the root and has generalized the strong grade *as-* with the suffix *-yā* and the secondary personal endings: *as-yā-m* > *assam*. This suffix *-yā*, however, has been shortened except in the first person plural: *as-yā-ma* > *assāma*.

215. The future. *dā-* 'to give':

Sanskrit	Pali	
1. <i>dasyāmi</i>	<i>dassāmi</i>	<i>dadissami</i>
2. <i>dasyasi</i>	<i>dassasi</i>	<i>dadissasi</i>
3. <i>dasyati</i>	<i>dassati</i>	<i>dadissati</i>
1. <i>dasyāma</i>	<i>dassāma</i>	<i>dadissāma</i>
2. <i>dasyatha</i>	<i>dassatha</i>	<i>dadissatha</i>
3. <i>dasyanti</i>	<i>dassanti</i>	<i>dadissanti</i>

The future tense in Pali is formed from the root in its guna grade and is conjugated exactly as in Sanskrit. The only innovation in Pali is the formation of the future from the stem of the present with the connecting vowel *-i*: *dadissati* besides *dassati*, *supissati*

besides *soṣṣati*. The formation of the future from the stem of the present is already found in Sanskrit in the case of the verbs of the secondary conjugations like the verbs of the tenth class and the causative verbs: *cintayisyati*, *corayisyanti* which in Pali become *cintayissati*, *corayissanti*.

Future formations through various changes of consonants and vowels have already been explained in no. 79

216. The conditional. *bhū-* 'to be'

Sanskrit	Pali
1. <i>abhaviṣyam</i>	<i>abhavissam</i>
2. <i>abhaviṣyaḥ</i>	<i>abhavissa</i>
3. <i>abhaviṣyat</i>	<i>abhavissa</i>
1. <i>abhaviṣyāma</i>	<i>abhavissāma</i>
2. <i>abhaviṣyata</i>	<i>abhavissatha</i>
3. <i>abhaviṣyan</i>	<i>abhavissamsu</i>

The conditional is very rarely used both in Sanskrit and in Pali. The formation is the same in both languages except that Pali has generalized the aspirate dental in the second person plural: *abhavissatha*. Further the third person plural *abhaviṣyan* becomes in Pali *abhavissam*, which is already the first person singular. Hence Pali has built up a new form on the analogy of some *s*-aorists: *abhavissamsu* like *adamsu*, *aṭṭhamsu*.

217. The aorist. Sanskrit has two kinds of aorists: the sigmatic and the asigmatic. The sigmatic contains four varieties according as the aorist is formed with the suffix *-sa*, *-s*, *-is*, *-sis*. The asigmatic has two varieties according as it is formed with the suffix *-a* or without any suffix at all (this last is called root aorist). The *a*-aorist can also be formed with the reduplication of the root.

In Pali the aorists formed with the suffixes *-sa* / *-sis* have been lost, though there are some plural forms which have been built like the *sis*-aorist: *adāsimha*, *adāsitha*, *asakkhimha*. Of the reduplicated variety there remains only *avoca*. Hence Pali has the root and the

a-aorist in the asigmatic type; the *s*- / *is*-aorists in the sigmatic type.

The aorist is formed by prefixing an augment. Rules for the use of the augment have been given in no. 82. In the use of the augment Pali is more similar to Vedic since in the R̥g-Veda the forms without the augment are much more numerous than those with the augment.

In Sanskrit there are minute rules regarding the grade or quantity of the vowel of the root. In Pali it is difficult to give any definite rules that will cover all the cases, but usually there is no vowel alternation between the singular and the plural or between the active and the middle, since either the weak or the guṇa grade has been generalized.

Regarding the personal endings, the second person plural has the dental aspirate which is a feature proper to Pali *agamatha*, *gacchitha*, *akattha*. And this ending retains the dental even when the ordinary rules of sandhi would require a cerebral consonant: *akattha*, *kamitha* against Skt *akarṣṭa*, *akramiṣṭa*.

218. The root aorist. The root aorist was rather common in Vedic. Apparently in the Vedas 100 roots and in the Brahmanas 25 more roots take this aorist. But soon most of the forms were lost in classical Sanskrit. In Pali the root aorist seems to be confined to five roots only: *gā-*, *dā-*, *sthā-*, *bhū-*, *kṛ-*. Further, in the inflection Pali has lost the first and second person plural.

The secondary personal endings are added directly to the augmented root.

The root retains the long vowel except before the ending of the third person plural: *adā* but *adu*.

The root *kṛ-* takes guṇa in Vedic; in Pali it seems to be restricted to two forms only, one derived from Vedic and the other built analogically.

Further the ending of the third person plural varies in Vedic: it is -ur for the roots in -ā, and -an for the other roots: *adur* and *abhuvan*. In Pali there is no distinction made and the ending, when it is found, is -u / -um

Vedic	Pali	Vedic	Pali
1. <i>adām</i>	<i>adam</i>	<i>agām</i>	<i>agam</i>
2. <i>adās</i>	<i>adā (ado)</i>	<i>agās</i>	<i>agā</i>
3. <i>adāt</i>	<i>adā</i>	<i>agāt</i>	<i>agā</i>
1. <i>adāma</i>		<i>agāma</i>	
2. <i>adāta</i>		<i>agata</i>	
3. <i>adur</i>	<i>adū, adum</i>	<i>agur</i>	<i>agu, agum</i>
1. <i>asthām</i>	<i>aṭṭham</i>	<i>abhūvam</i>	<i>ahum</i>
2. <i>asthās</i>	<i>aṭṭhā</i>	<i>abhūs</i>	<i>ahū</i>
3. <i>asthāt</i>	<i>aṭṭhā</i>	<i>abhūt</i>	<i>ahū</i>
1. <i>asthāma</i>		<i>abhūma</i>	
2. <i>asthāta</i>		<i>abhūta</i>	
3. <i>asthur</i>	<i>aṭṭhu, aṭṭhum</i>	<i>abhūvan</i>	<i>ahū, ahum</i>
1. <i>akaram</i>	<i>akam</i>		
2. <i>akar</i>			
3. <i>akar</i>	<i>akā</i>		
1. <i>akarma</i>			
2. <i>akarta</i>			
3. <i>akaran</i>			

- a). In the root *bhū-* the labial consonant has lost its occlusion. Further the formation in Pali is on the same pattern as *adam*, *adā*, *adum*, hence *ahum*, *ahu*, *ahu* / *ahum*. In third person singular sometimes the final dental consonant reappears in combination in sandhi: *ahud eva*.
- b). The root *kṛ-* has *akā* in third person singular corresponding to the Vedic *akar*. The lengthening of the vowel, however, is rather on the pattern of *adā*, *agā*, *aṭṭhā*. From this form there has been built the first person just as *adā*:*adam*;*akā*:*akam*.

- c). *gā-* has a first person plural formed on the analogy of the s-aorist: *agamha*.
- d). As a rule the root aorists take the augment, but in poetry there are also root aorists without the augment: from *adhigam-* we find *ajjhagam* but also *adhigam*. Apparently the augment is sometimes missing when the verb is combined with a prefix.

219. The a-aorist. The a-aorist is rather common both in Vedic and in Sanskrit. It is formed by adding the suffix -a to the augmented root. The root usually appears in the weak grade, but there are also some roots that appear in their guna grade: *vid-* : *avidam*, *gam-* : *agamat*, *kṛ-* : *akarat*.

In Pali the a-aorist is formed in the same way: *bid-* : *abhida*, *gam-* : *agama*, *drś-* : *addasa*. The root *mad-* appears in its vṛddhi grade in *pamādo*. Further in Pali there are some a-aorists formed from the stem of the present: *man-* : *amaññaṃ*, *amaññaṃ*, *dā-* : *adadam*, *upa-pad-* : *upapajjatha*, *vid-* : *vindatha*

Sanskrit	Pali
1. <i>agamam</i>	<i>agamam</i>
2. <i>agamas</i>	<i>agama</i>
3. <i>agamat</i>	<i>agama</i>
1. <i>agamāma</i>	<i>agamāma</i>
2. <i>agamata</i>	<i>agamatha</i>
3. <i>agaman</i>	<i>agamum</i>

- a). In the second person singular the Sanskrit group -as has sometimes given rise to -o in Pali: *pamado*, *āsado*.
- b). In the second and third person singular the final vowel sometimes is long and sometimes is short: *addasā* / *addasa*, *agamā* / *agama*, *abhida*, *alattha*, *ahuvā*
- c). In the plural there are some forms built on the analogy of the s-aorist: *akaramha*, *ahuvamha*, *ahuvattha*, *pamadattha*, *alatthamsu*.

- d). In the second person plural Pali has the usual aspirate dental -th: *agamatha* against Skt *agamata*.
- e). In the third person plural Pali has the ending -um which corresponds to the Sanskrit ending -ur already found in the root aorist: Skt *agaman* but Pali *agamum*. Similarly *avocum*, *alatthum*, *addasum*.
- f). Of the Sanskrit reduplicated aorist only *avoca* has been retained in Pali (see no. 84 b). Pali has further a new -a-aorist from the root *vac-*: *avaca*.
- g). From the root *kr-*, Pali has the aorist *akaram* corresponding to the Vedic *akaram*; from the root *bhū-* there is the form *ahuvam* whose formation may have been influenced by the Vedic root aorist *abhuvam*.
- h). *Alattha* is an s-aorist but it has been inflected like an a-aorist (see 83).
- i). Of the middle voice Pali has retained only a few forms for the third person singular and plural and for the first person plural: *abhāsatha*, *upapajjatha*, *vindatha*, *abajjhare*, *amaññarum*, *akaramhase*. Here the third person singular takes the ending -tha against the Sanskrit ending -ta; in the third person plural the ending -re is already found in Sanskrit in the perfect tense, while -rum seems to be the result of the two endings -re + -um. In the first person plural the ending -mhase is already found in the present tense (see no. 211).

220. The s-aorist. The s-aorist is frequently used both in Vedic and in Sanskrit. In Pali it has become very common in verbs whose present stem ends in -e; but it is found also in other verbs.

In Sanskrit, in the formation of the s-aorist the root appears in its vrddhi grade in the active voice, while in the middle voice the root is sometimes in the guna grade and sometimes in the weak grade

In the oldest stage of the language the secondary personal endings were added to the suffix -s. But owing to the rules of sandhi and of the final consonants allowable at the end of a word, the second and third person singular became indistinguishable; v.g. *bhī-* : *a-bhar-s-am* > *abharsam*, *a-bhar-s-s* > *abhar*, *a-bhar-s-t* > *abhar*. Hence from the Atharva Veda onwards an -i began to be inserted in these two forms and very soon this insertion became the rule in almost every root that took the s-aorist. Thus while the R̥gVeda has *adrāk* (*adrakst* < *adrās-s-t*), the later language has *adrāksit* (*adrās-s-i-t*). In Pali the insertion of -i has been extended to the first person singular and thus the three persons singular have been made uniform

S a n s k r i t		P a l i	
1. <i>a-kār-s-am</i>	<i>akārṣam</i>	<i>a-kār-s-i-m</i>	<i>akāsim</i>
2. <i>a-kār-s-i-s</i>	<i>akārṣis</i>	<i>a-kār-s-i-s</i>	<i>akāsi</i>
3. <i>a-kār-s-i-t</i>	<i>akārṣit</i>	<i>a-kār-s-i-t</i>	<i>akāsi</i>
1. <i>a-kār-s-ma</i>	<i>akārṣma</i>	<i>a-kār-s-ma</i>	<i>akamha</i>
2. <i>a-kār-s-ṭa</i>	<i>akārṣṭa</i>	<i>a-kār-s-tha</i>	<i>akattha</i>
3. <i>a-kār-s-ur</i>	<i>akārṣur</i>	<i>a-kār-s-um</i>	<i>akāsum</i> / <i>akamsu</i>

- a). In Pali the vowel -i has been shortened in the first person singular since it is followed by *niggahita*, and in the second and third person, because it comes at the end of a word.
- b). In the second person plural in Pali there is always the aspirate dental even when the sandhi rules would demand a cerebral consonant.
- c). In the first and second person plural, the vowel -o of the root is shortened to -u before the double consonant: *assosim* but *assumha*, *assuttha*. Similarly *ahumha*, *ahuttha* from the root *bhū*.
- d). In the third person plural either the final vowel -u is nasalized (Skt -ur > -ū/-um) or the final vowel -ū is shortened and the -a of the previous syllable is nasalized. *adāsum/adamsu*, *samādahamsu* (from *sam-ā-dhā-*). The vowel -e / -o, however, remains unchanged: *nesum*, *assosum*.

In the third person plural of the roots in -a, the vowel -ā is sometimes changed to -ī, perhaps under the influence of the is-aorist: *aññāsī, aññimsu, viḥāsī, viḥamsu / viḥimsu*.

- e). In the plural there are some forms built up both with the suffixes -s + -is. This may be due to the tendency at work in Pali to build the first and second person plural on the model of the is-aorist: *adāsimha, adāsuttha, asakkhimha*.
- f). The s-aorist has been very much expanded in Pali since it is taken by all the verbs whose present stem ends in -e: *nesī < neti, cintesī < cinteti, kāresī < kāreti, kittesī < kitteti*. In the aorist of these verbs, however, the first and second person plural are wanting.
- g). The s-aorist has been extended also with new formations which can be considered as double aorists, i.e. an s-aorist built up from an a-aorist. The final vowel of the a-aorist is always long before the suffix -s: *agamāsī < gam-, addasāsī < dṛś-, avacāsī < vac-, ahuvāsī < bhū-*. As extended aorist also may be considered *adāsī < dā-, atthāsī < sthā-* built from the root aorist, unless they are considered as new formations built up on the analogy of *aññāsī* (Skt *aññāsīt*) < *jñā-*.
- h). The aorist *adrāk* found in the R̥gVeda has been mentioned above. This form is found also in Pali as *addā*.
- i). In the middle or attanopada there are only a few rare forms like *udapattha < pat-, alattha < labh-* with the aspirate dental in the third person singular as in the a-aorist (see no. 219 i). Further it is to be noticed that the -a drops when occurring between two occlusive consonants: *ud-a-pat-s-ta > udapatta > udapattha*. In Sanskrit *labh-* has an s-aorist and a sa-aorist: *a-labh-s-ta > alabhta > alabdha, a-labh-sa-ta > alapsata*. In Pali *alattha* seems to be a mixture of both Skt aorists since the consonant *bh-* of the root has not softened the following dental, but seems to have become a hard consonant before the *s-* and then

assimilated to the following dental aspirate: *a-labh-s-ta > a-lap-s-ta > alaptha > alattha*

221. The is-aorist. The is-aorist is rather common both in Vedic and classical Sanskrit. The only difference is that in Sanskrit the is-aorist becomes more and more confined to the roots in consonants while the s-aorist is taken chiefly by roots in a vowel. In the is-aorist the root of the verb appears in its guna grade. The few roots in vowel that take this aorist show the final vowel in its vr̥ddhi grade.

kram- 'to step'

1. <i>akramisam</i>	<i>kamun, kamisam</i>
2. <i>akramih</i>	<i>kami</i>
3. <i>akramit</i>	<i>kami</i>
1. <i>akramisma</i>	<i>kamimha</i>
2. <i>akramista</i>	<i>kamuttha</i>
3. <i>akramisur</i>	<i>kamisun</i>

- a) In Sanskrit in the second and third person singular the endings are -ih, -it respectively which do not represent the phonetic development of the usual suffix with the personal endings: -is-s, -is-t. They seem to be asigmatic formations based on older imperfects with the connecting vowel -i. In fact, in Vedic there are three verbs that retain the same formation in the first person singular: *akramim, agrabhim, vadhim*.

In Pali the vowel -i is found regularly in the three persons of the singular. These may be considered as derived from such forms as *akramim, akramih, akramit*, but the vowel -i is shortened in the first person because followed by niggahita, and in the second and third persons because final; or they may be considered as built up regularly with the suffix -is: *kam-is-m > kamism > kamihm > kamimh > kamim, kam-is-s > kami, kam-is-t > kami*.

- b). In the first person singular there is also the ordinary suffix -is and the ending -am: *agamisam*. In poetry the -s is sometimes doubled: *sandhāvissam*.

- c). In the third person plural either the vowel of the ending or the vowel of the suffix is nasalized: *agamisum* / *agamimsu*, *pavisimsu*, *vandimsu*, *vimuccimsu*.

In many cases there is a third person plural built up on the analogy of the s-aorist: *abravum*, *pakkamum*, *upavisum*, *anussarum*, *anassum*, *agacchum*, *visodhayum*, *abhinandum*, *padālayum*, *acarum*.

These forms may have arisen from the confusion between the a-aorist and the is-aorist in verbs that have both forms: *agama* / *agami*

In the inflection of *gacchim* the vowel of the first syllable is sometimes nasalized: *gacchi* / *gañchi*.

- d). The is-aorist has been very much expanded in Pali. In fact practically every verb may form an is-aorist from the stem of the present: *gacchi* < *gacchati*, *bhuñji* < *bhuñjati*, *pucchi* < *pucchati*, *asuni* < *sunāti*, *cintayi* < *cintayati*, *khamāpayi* < *khamāpayati*, etc.
- e). It has already been mentioned that the verbs whose stem of the present ends in -e like *cinteti*, *kāreti* take the s-aorist: *cintesi*, *kāresi*. The same verbs may take the is-aorist from the stem in -aya: *cintayi* < *cintayati*, *kārayi* < *kārayati*.
- f). The root *sthā-* splits up the long vowel into two similar vowels with the aspirate in between: *ṭhā-* > *ṭhaha-* in *utṭhahi*.
- g). Of the medial forms only the second and the third persons singular are found

2nd person: *pucchittho*, *amaññittho*, *paṭisevittho*

3rd prson: *pucchittha*, *sandittha*, *ruccittha*.

The endings -*ittho*, -*ittha* are derived from *iṣ-ṭhas*, *iṣ-ṭa*. Pali has generalized the dental consonant throughout as in other forms; has shortened the vowel of the second person and has aspirated the dental of the third person.

- h). Just as in Sanskrit, in Pali the vowel of the root appears in its guṇa grade: *agami*, *vedim*, *abhedi*, *abodhi*. In some verbs, however, the vowel may appear in the vṛddhi grade, or both in the guṇa and vṛddhi grade: *pad-*: *udapadi*, *tras-*: *vitthāsi*, *kram-*: *pakkāmi* but *upasankami*, *nikkhami*, *ṭṭ-*: *atāri*, *atari*, *car-*: *acari*, *acāri*

222. The passive. In Sanskrit the formation of the passive seems to have originated from the fact that some verbs of the fourth class forming the stem of the present with the suffix -ya had an intransitive meaning while they had also a corresponding stem of the present with the suffix -a and with a transitive meaning: *tapyate* 'becomes hot', *tapati* 'heats' *pacyate* 'becomes cooked', 'becomes ripe', *pacati* 'cooks'.

Such verbs may have been the first nucleus which gave rise to the ordinary formation of the passive from the transitive verbs.

Then a distinction was introduced between the verbs of the fourth class and the passive: the verbs of the fourth class had the accent on the root while the passive had it on the suffix: *manyate* 'thinks', *badhyate* 'is bound'. But this seems to be a late element since in both types of verbs the root is in the weak grade and hence the accent ought to be on the suffix.

The passive verb was generalized with the attanopada or middle personal endings; but this also was a gradual generalization in Sanskrit for in Iranian there are passive verbs with the parassapada or active endings: *bairyeti* 'is carried'.

In Sanskrit the passive is confined to the present, to a special third person of the aorist, and to the past and future participles. In the other tenses the attanopada or middle can be used as a passive; v.g. *kariṣyate* 'will be done'.

Pali seems to retain the older usage since the passive verb is conjugated more often in the parassapada than in the attanopada. *muccati*, *haññati*.

Several of the verbs that seem to be passive are actually intransitive in meaning: *anutappati* 'repents', *miyyati* 'dies', *paccati* 'ripens', *dissati* 'appears'.

There are two innovations in Pali. Just as other verbal forms, so the passive also may be formed from the stem of the present: *bhid-*: *bhijjati* / *bhindiya*, *chid-*: *chijjati* / *chindiyati*.

Further there are passive forms in other tenses and moods besides the present indicative.

Aorists: *apacim*, *vimucci*, *chijji*, *apaccatha*

Future: *paññāyissati*, *khiyissati*

Optative: *paññāyatha*

Present participle: *vimuccamāno*

Gerund: *chijjivā*

223. The causative verb. On the whole the formation of the causative verbs in Pali corresponds to the same formation in Sanskrit. The final vowel of a root appears in the *ṽddhi* grade while a vowel, followed by a consonant, appears in its *guṇa* grade, with the exception of the vowel *-a* which is also often lengthened. The only phonological differences consist in the contraction of the group *-aya > -e* in Pali.

<i>bhū-</i>	Skt	<i>bhāvayati</i>	Pali	<i>bhāvayati</i> , <i>bhāveti</i>
<i>kr-</i>		<i>kārayati</i>		<i>kārayati</i> , <i>kāreti</i>
<i>bhid-</i>		<i>bhedayati</i>		<i>bhedayati</i> , <i>bhedeti</i>
<i>pat-</i>		<i>pātayati</i>		<i>pātayati</i> , <i>pātet</i>

The roots that end in *-ā* insert a *-p* between the root and the suffix:

<i>mā-</i>	<i>māpayati</i>	<i>māpayati</i> , <i>māpeti</i>
<i>dā-</i>	<i>dāpayati</i>	<i>dāpayati</i> , <i>dāpeti</i>

In some roots in Pali the final vowel is not kept consistently long: *dāpeti* but *ādāpeti*, *samādapeti*; *thāpeti* but *utthāpeti*, *santhāpeti*, *sañthāpeti*; *pariyodāpeti* < *dā-* 'to wash'.

Just as in Sanskrit, so also in Pali there are some other ways of forming the causative: *duṣ-*: *duṣeti*; *pṛ-*: *pūreti*; *pā-*: *payati*; *pā-*: *pāleti*, etc.

The two main innovations in Pali are the formation of the causative verbs from the stem of the present and the formation of double causative. From verbs like *māpayati*, *nāpayati*, *dāpayati*, Pali has abstracted a kind of new suffix *-āpaya* / *-āpe* and has used it to form causative verbs from any present tense: *chinda-*: *chindāpeti*, *nisīda-*: *nisidāpeti*, *ocinā-*: *ocināpeti*, *karo-*: *karāpeti*, *pūjaya-*: *pūjāpeti*, *āmantaya-*: *āmantāpeti*. The double causative is formed by adding the suffix *-āpe* to the present stem of a causative verb: *kāre-*: *kārāpeti*, *sodhe-*: *sodhāpeti*, *ghate-*: *ghatāpeti*, *rope-*: *ropāpeti*.

224. The desiderative and the intensive verbs. The formation of the desiderative and of the intensive verbs in Pali is the same as in Sanskrit. In fact the desiderative and the intensive verbs in Pali are directly derived from Sanskrit:

Skt	<i>pipāsati</i>	Pali	<i>pipāsati</i>
	<i>jigimṣati</i>		<i>jigimṣati</i>
	<i>dicṣati</i>		<i>dicchati</i>
	<i>śikṣati</i>		<i>sikkhati</i>
	<i>caṅkramyate</i>		<i>caṅkamati</i>
	<i>jājvalyati</i>		<i>daddalhati</i>

225. Present participle. The present participle *parassapada* in Pali corresponds to the same participle in Sanskrit

Skt	<i>bhavant</i>	Pali	<i>bhavant</i>
	<i>chindant</i>		<i>chindant</i>

In Pali there is no distinction between the verbs of the third class and the remaining verbs. In Sanskrit the verbs of the third class

have the suffix *-at* while all the other verbs have the suffix *-ant*. In Pali all the verbs have the suffix *-ant*, in which the final dental drops and the *-n* is changed to *niggahita*. The suffix *-ant* has often been extended with the thematic vowel and thus a new suffix *-anta* is often used in the formation of the present participle. In fact this suffix is the only one used when the present participle is formed from the stem of the present ending in *-e* / *-o*: *cintenta*, *karonta*

In Sanskrit the present participle *attanopada* is formed with the suffix *-māna* for the verbs of the first conjugation and with the suffix *-āna* for the verbs of the second conjugation; *bhavamāna*, *juhvāna*. In Pali this distinction has been eliminated. Every verb can form a present participle with the suffix *-māna*; *bhavamāna*, *sampajjamāna*, *karamāna*, *cintayamāna*. Of the present participle in *-āna* there are a few forms still extant, but this participle is confined to verbs which in Sanskrit belong to the second conjugation: *esāna*, *sayāna*, *kubbāna*, *saddahāna*, *sankharāna*, *anuttahāna*

226. **The past participle.** The Pali past participle, formed with the suffix *-ta* / *-na*, corresponds to the same participle in Sanskrit. An innovation in Pali, however, is the formation of the past participle with the suffix *-ta* from the stem of the present, not only in derivative verbs like *kārita*, *pūjita*, but also in simple verbs like *gacchita*, *ganhita*, etc.

Further in Pali in the formation of the past participle of the roots in *-h*, the suffix *-ta* with the preceding *-h* has given rise to *-lha* with the preceding vowel lengthened: *-lha*: *muh*:- *mūlha*, *ruh*:- *rūlha*.

The verb *dā-* has the past participle *datta* as in Sanskrit but only in compounds like *Devadatta*; it has also *-tta* as in Sanskrit in compounds *atta* (< *ā-dā-*), *paritta* (< *pari-dā-*), and it has a new formation *dinna* v.g. *dhammadinna*.

227. **The future participle passive.** In Pali, as in Sanskrit, the future participle passive is formed with the suffixes *-tabba* (Skt *-tavya*), *-aniya*, *-ya*.

Skt	<i>gautavya</i>	Pali	<i>gantabba</i>
	<i>gamaniya</i>		<i>gamaniya</i>
	<i>bhavya</i>		<i>bhabba</i>

In Pali the future participle passive with the suffix *-tabba* can be formed also from the stem of the present: *pucchitabba*, *garahitabba*. This is the only formation possible for derivative verbs: *pujetabba*, *ropetabba*.

In Pali there is a new formation with the suffixes *-taya* / *-tāya* / *-teyya*: *ñātaya* / *ñāteyya*, *pattaya* / *patteyya*, *lajjitāya*

228. **The gerund.** In general the formation of the gerund in Pali corresponds to the same formation in Sanskrit:

Skt	<i>jñātvā</i> , <i>śrutvā</i> , <i>ādāya</i> , <i>āgamyā</i> , <i>parityā</i>
Pali	<i>ñātvā</i> , <i>sutvā</i> , <i>ādāya</i> , <i>āgamma</i> , <i>paricca</i> .

In Pali the vowel *-i* / *-ī*, *-u* of the root is sometimes changed to *-e* / *-o* respectively before two consonants:

Skt	<i>jītvā</i> , <i>nītvā</i> , <i>bhuktvā</i>
Pali	<i>jetvā</i> , <i>netvā</i> , <i>bhutvā</i> and <i>bhotvā</i>

The distinction between simple and compound verbs is not always kept: hence *nisiditvā*, *pāpunitvā*, *upasankamitvā*, *ñāya*, *bhūñjīya*, *chaddīya*.

In Pali the gerund with the suffix *-tvā* is often formed from the stem of the present: *pāpunitvā*, *gacchitvā*, *nivāsetvā*. Even some passive verbs form this gerund: *chijjītvā*, *paccitvā*

Often instead of *-tvā* there appears the extended form *-tvāna*: *gantvā* / *gantvāna*, *disvā* / *disvāna*. There are also a few gerunds with the suffix *-tuna*: *katūna*, *janitūna*. Again the suffix *-ya* seems to have been extended into *-yāna* just as *-tvā* to *-tvāna*: *uttariyāna*, *ovariyāna*.

229. **The infinitive.** The ordinary infinitive is built up with the suffix *-tum* both in Sanskrit and in Pali.

Skt *jñātum, śrotum*

Pali *ñātum, sotum*.

In Pali often the infinitive is formed from the stem of the present: *pucchitum, papunitum, passitum, desetum*

Pali has also some infinitive formations going back to Vedic. The Pali suffix *-tave* corresponds to Vedic *-tave / -tavai*. Vedic: *etave / etavai*, Pali: *etave*.

The suffix *-taye* also corresponds to the Vedic suffix *-taye* but with the vowel lengthened: *dakkhitāye, pucchitāye*.

The infinitive with the suffix *-tuye* seems to be an analogical formation: *hetuye / havituye, marituye*.

There is also an infinitive *etase* in which the suffix *-ase* is also found in Vedic.

CHAPTER XVII

EXTERNAL SANDHI

230. In building up a sentence in Sanskrit the words are joined together according to the rules of external sandhi. In Pali the words are kept separate. But as in a sentence the adverbs, the prepositions, the pronouns, the numerals, the forms of the verb *as -* are usually pronounced together with a preceding or a following word, they undergo some changes according to certain sandhi rules; v.g. *ca api* > *cāpi*, *patto amhi* > *pattomhi*.

Even some longer words, which are generally used together, are joined together: *utthāya āsanā* > *utthāyāsanā*.

In Pali a word may begin with a vowel or a consonant, but it may end only with a vowel or *niggahita*. Hence the cases of external sandhi can be four

vowel	+	vowel
vowel	+	consonant
niggahita	+	vowel
niggahita	+	consonant

It is evident that all the rules of external sandhi do not apply in Pali

231. Vowel + vowel. The final vowel of a word and the initial vowel of a following word may be subject to sandhi.

- a). Assimilation. Two similar vowels may be contracted into one long vowel, unless the resultant vowel is followed by a consonant with which it makes syllable: *tatra-ayam* > *tatrāyam*, *kiñca api* > *kiñcāpi*, *jāti iti* > *jātīti*, *tāva aham* > *tāvāham*, *rājā aham* > *rājāham*, *seyyathā api* > *seyyathāpi*, *tena añjali* > *tenañjali*, *dukkhassa antam* > *dukkhassantam*. But there are cases where we find a long vowel followed by a double consonant according to the Sanskrit sandhi rules: *upasantā amhi* > *upasantāmhi*.
- b). Elision. When the two vowels are dissimilar, then one of them is elided: *tatra ime* > *tatrame*, *pana eke* > *paneke*, *tattha eva* > *tattheva*, *tena upasaṅkami* > *tenupasaṅkami*, *idha upapanno* > *idhupapanno*, *dāni aham* > *dānaḥam*, *eso aham* > *esahaṃ*, *namo atthu* > *namatthu*, *seṭṭho aham* > *seṭṭhaḥam*, *patto iti* > *pattoti*, *te api* > *tepi*, *mālā iva* > *mālāva*, *iti api* > *itupi*, *ditṭho asi* > *ditṭhosi*.

It is not possible to give a fixed rule according to which one or the other vowel is elided, but generally speaking the vowel of the more important word is retained.

- c). Sonant vowels. When a final sonant vowel is followed by a different initial vowel, the final sonant vowel is changed into its semivowel: *iti assa* > *ityassa* > *iccassa*, *api eva* > *apyeva* > *appeva*, *chasu eva* > *chasveva* > *chasseva*.

Also the final vowels *e*, *o*, followed by a different vowel, are changed to *y*, *v* respectively: *te aham* > *tyahaṃ*, *me ayam* > *myāyam*, *so eva* > *sveva*. Generally the vowel that follows the sonant consonant is lengthened

- d). Insertion of a consonant. Sometimes between a final and an initial vowel a consonant is inserted to avoid the iatus. *na idam* > *nayidam*, *suto eva* > *sutoyeva*, *kati ākārehi* > *katihakārehi*, *patto iva* > *pattoriva*, *ajja agge* > *ajjatagge*.

In such cases often there is no new consonant inserted, but the original Sanskrit final consonant is restored: *dhī atthu* > *dhīratthu*, *pātu ahosi* > *pāturahosi*, *tasmā iva* > *tasmāiva*, *yāva eva* > *yāvadeva*, *cha abhiññā* > *chaḥabhiññā*, *puna ahosi* > *punarahosi*.

The pronouns *ya*, *ta*, followed by a word beginning with a vowel, retain the Sanskrit neuter forms: *etadavoca*, *yadeva*. Similarly *sammā* (< Vedic *samyak*), *bahu*, *sakim* (< *sakṛt*), followed by *eva*, insert a *d*: *sammā eva*, *bahud eva*, *sakid eva*.

232. Vowel + consonant. When a Sanskrit word begins with a consonant which has been simplified in Pali, sometimes the assimilated double consonant reappears when preceded by a vowel: *na khamati* (< *kṣamate*) > *nakkhamati*, *na pajānāti* > *nappajānāti*, *api sudam* > *apissudam*.

Sometimes it is the final consonant of the preceding word that reappears: *puna puna* > *punar puna* > *punappuna*

233. Niggahita + vowel.

- a). A niggahita, followed by a word beginning with a vowel, remains the same or is changed into the labial nasal: *evam eva* / *evameva*, *pāsādam āruyha* > *pāsādamāruyha*.
- b). The initial vowel of a preposition is dropped when preceded by a word ending in niggahita. Then the niggahita is changed into the nasal of the *varga* of the following consonant: *aham api* > *ahampi*, *dutiyam api* > *dutiyampi*, *dukkham iti* > *dukkhanti*, *sukham eva* > *sukhameva*.
- c). Sometimes the final niggahita is elided and the two vowels that come together may be contracted, or one may be dropped and changed to its corresponding semivowel: *labheyyam aham* > *labheyyahaṃ*, *namassim aham* > *namassihaṃ*, *kim aham* > *kyahaṃ*.
- d). When a word ends in niggahita and the following word begins with *e*, *y* is sometimes inserted and then the niggahita and the semivowel may remain unchanged, or may be

adapted to each other: *imasimim eva āsane* > *imasimim yeve āsane*, *tesam eva* > *tesameva* > *tesaññeva*.

234. Niggahita + consonant.

- a). The final niggahita is assimilated to an initial nasal consonant: *yam nūna* > *yannūna*, *param maranā* > *param maranā*
- b). When the final niggahita is followed by a mute consonant, the niggahita is changed to the nasal of the varga of the following consonant: *taṃ ca* > *tañca*, *kiṃ pana* > *kimpana*, *kiṃ dadāti* > *kindadāti*.

SYNTAX

CHAPTER XVIII

AGREEMENT

235. The noun and its attribute.

- a). An attributive adjective agrees, with the noun it qualifies, in gender, number and case:

<i>digho maggo</i>	'a long road'
<i>nilāni uppalāni</i>	'blue lotuses'
<i>mahatiyā parisāya saddhim</i>	'with a great crowd'

- b). The cardinal numbers from 1 to 18, being adjectives, agree in number and case with the noun they qualify; the number 1, 3, 4 agree also in gender:

<i>tayo purisā</i>	'three men'
<i>tisso itthiyo</i>	'three women'
<i>tīni rūpāni</i>	'three objects'
<i>pañcahi bhikkhūhi saddhim</i>	'with five monks'
<i>pañcahi devīhi saddhim</i>	'with five ladies'

Pa.i has no articles. *Eko*, *ekacco* are often used as indeterminate articles. Both *eko* and *ekacco* in the plural have often the meaning of 'some':

<i>eko puriso</i>	'a man'
<i>ekam phalaṃ</i>	'a fruit'
<i>ekacce samaṇabrāhmaṇā</i>	'some recluses and brahmins'

c). All the ordinal numerals, being adjectives, agree in gender, number and case with the noun they qualify:

<i>dutiyo putto</i>	'the second son'
<i>sattamiyā rattiya</i>	'on the seventh night'

d). An adjective is sometimes repeated twice to convey a superlative meaning:

sambahulā abhiññātā abhiññātā paribbājakā 'many of the most learned wanderers'

mahatiyā mahatiyā gihi parisāya saddhim 'with a very great crowd of householders'

e). A qualifying adjective may be a simple word or a compound.

<i>ime silavanto bhikkhū</i>	'these virtuous monks'
<i>kalyāṇadhammā bhikkhū</i>	'monks with lovely qualities'
<i>Buddhadesito dhammo</i>	'the doctrine preached by the Buddha'

f). An adjective, instead of agreeing with the noun, is very often joined to the noun to form a *kammadhāraya samāsa*

<i>niluppalani</i>	'blue lotuses'
<i>catuyojanani</i>	'four yojanas'
<i>appalabho</i>	'little gain'
<i>pubbajāti</i>	'former birth'

236. The noun and its apposition.

a). A noun in apposition agrees with the noun it modifies, in case, and, if possible, in gender and number also:

Asoko rājā 'king Asoka'

mahatā bhikkhusanghena saddhim adhatelasehi bhikkhusatehi
'with a great number of monks, i.e. with 1250 monks' (DN I 47:1)

When an apposition modifies a proper noun, usually the apposition follows the proper noun:

Vipassi kumāro 'prince Vipassi'

Māyā devī 'queen Maya'

Cando rājaputto 'prince Canda'

Sunidha-Vassakārā Magadha-mahāmattā 'Sunidha and Vassakara, the chief ministers of Magadha'

Nandā bhikkhuni 'the nun Nanda'

māro pāpimā 'Mara, the evil one'

gangā nadi 'the river Ganges'

Sometimes the arrangement of the noun and its apposition depends on whether greater importance is given to the person and thing mentioned or to the apposition. Thus we may find *Disampati maharājā*, *rājā Disampati* (DN II 232), *rājā Mahasudassano* (DN II 172).

b). Sometimes the noun in apposition is joined to the noun it modifies by means of the words *nāma*, *seyyathidaṃ*, *seyyathāpi*, *yadidaṃ* 'namely, indeed':

āmantayī Cundakaṃ nāma bhikkhum 'he addressed the monk Cundaka' (DN II 135-11)

tiṇṇaṃ kho me idaṃ kammanam phalaṃ. tiṇṇaṃ kammānam vipāko seyyathidaṃ danassa, damassa, saññamassa 'for me this is the fruit of three actions, this is the result of three

actions, namely of liberality, of self-control and of self-restraint' (Itv 15.19)

gahanam hi etam yadidam manussā, uttanakam hi etam yadidam pasavo 'deep indeed are men, plain indeed are animals' (MN I 340.24)

bhikkhu evam sīlasampanno na kuto ci bhayaṃ samanupassati yadidam sīla-samvarato 'thus a monk who is endowed with virtue is not afraid of anything since he has the restraint of virtue' (DN I 181:22)

When a person is introduced for the first time, usually the word *nāma* is used between the name of the person and the noun in apposition

Subhaddo nāma paribbājako 'the wanderer called Paribbajako'

In a negative sentence containing a comparison, the second term is introduced with *yathayidam* followed by the nominative case:

na aññāṃ ekaṅgampi samanupassāmi evaṃ bahupakāraṃ yathayidam kalyāṇamittatā 'I do not see anything more helpful than good friendship'

Sometimes the noun in apposition is introduced with *yadidam* followed by a noun in a case different from the one before:

cirassam kho bhante bhagavā imaṃ pariyāyaṃ akāsi yadidam idhāgamanāya 'it is a long time since the Blessed One made arrangements to come here' (DN I 179:17)

c). Sometimes the noun in apposition is expressed by the nominative case followed by the particle *ti* / *iti*:

Buddho ti maṃ dhārehi 'hold me as the Enlightened One' (AN II 39:3)

Vipassissa kumārassa Vipassī Vipassī tveva samaññā udapādi 'to prince Vipassī there arose the appellation Vipassī' (DN II 21:4)

d). When a comparison is expressed by means of the particle *iva*, *va*, *seyyathā*, the second member of the comparison is placed in the same case as the first term:

appamādaṃ ca medhāvī dhanam settham va rakkhati 'the wise man guards earnestness as the greatest treasure' (Dpd 26)

e). A noun in apposition is often joined to the noun it modifies to form a *kammadhāraya samāsa*:

Asokarājā 'king Asoka'

Mahākassapathero 'the great elder Kassapa'

f). The cardinal numbers from 20 upwards are nouns and hence they are used as appositions agreeing in case with the noun they modify:

asīti sahaṣṣāni bhikkhū 'eighty thousand monks'

satthiyā sāvakehi saddhiṃ 'with sixty disciples'

dvattimsa mahāpurisa-lakkhaṇāni 'the thirty-two marks of a great man' (Sn 107:12)

The numerals *sataṃ*, *sahaṣṣaṃ* form a *tappurisa samāsa* with the noun they modify:

vassa-satassa accayena 'at the end of a hundred years' (DN II 189.5)

bhikkhu-sata-sahaṣṣaṃ 'one hundred thousand monks'

When *sataṃ* / *sahaṣṣaṃ* form a *tappurisa samāsa* with a noun, an adjective which qualifies the *samāsa* or the number by which *sataṃ* or *sahaṣṣaṃ* is exceeded, is placed first.

bahunnam vssasatānam bahunnaṃ vassa-sata-sahaṣṣānaṃ accayena 'after many hundred years after many hundred thousand years' (DN II 189:10)

anekāni gahapati-sahaṣṣāni 'many thousands householders' (DN II 249:26)

caturāsiti nagara-sahassāni 'eighty-four thousand towns' (DN II 187:6)

caturāsitiyā pāṇa-sahassānam dhammabhūsamayo ahosi 'there was the grasping of the doctrine by 84,000 living beings.'

dve-cattārisaṃ nāga-sahassāni 'forty-two thousand nagas'

tīhi mānavaka-satehi saddhim 'with three hundred young men' (Sn 107:2)

When *satam* / *sahassam*, i.e. 100 or 1000 are joined with a multiple, v.g. 200, 3000, etc. then the multiple can form a bahubbīhi samāsa with the word *matā*, while *satam* / *sahassam* forms a tappurisa samāsa with the noun it modifies:

pañcamattehi bhikkhu-satehi saddhim 'with 500 monks' (DN I 1:3)

Sometimes a tappurisa samāsa formed with *satam* / *sahassam* is in apposition to a collective noun:

bhikkhu-saṅgho attha-tejasāni bhikkhu-satāni 'an assembly of monks, that is, 1250 monks' (Sn 104:1)

mahā-jana-kāyo caturāsiti-pāṇa-sahassāni 'a great crowd, that is, 84,000 living beings'. (DN II 29:32)

237. The noun and its predicative. A noun may also be modified by a noun or by an adjective used predicatively. The predicative noun agrees with the noun it modifies in case, and, if possible, in gender and number also. The adjective used predicatively agrees in gender, number and case with the noun it modifies.

Suddhodano rājā ahosi 'Suddhodana was a king'

so hoti sukhi parattha 'he is happy in the next world' (Dpd 177)

When the predicate modifies one of the pronouns *aham* / *tvam*, then the predicate must be in the masculine or feminine gender according as the pronoun is used for a male or female being: *aham paṇḍito asmi*, *tvam paṇḍitā asi*.

A noun or adjective is used predicatively in the following instances:

a). with the copulative verb *atthi*, *hoti*, *bhavati* expressed or understood:

idha bhikkhu sīlavā hoti 'herein a monk is virtuous'

kicchaṃ maccāna jīvitam 'hard is the life of mortals' (Dpd 182)

rājā mukhaṃ manussānam, nadīnaṃ sāgaro mukhaṃ 'the king is the head of the people, the sea is the mouth of the rivers' (Sn 568)

ye te bhavissanti anāgataṃ addhānaṃ arahanto 'whoever will be arahats in the future.' (DN II 82:18)

b). with the verbs of incomplete predication in the passive voice:

idaṃ vuccati kammaṃ kaṇhaṃ kaṇhavipākam 'this is called the action that is black and that has a black result' (MN I 390:4)

c). to characterize the action done by the subject of the verb. In this case the adjective is used in preference to an adverb:

Vipassī kumāro animisanto pekkhati 'prince Vipassī looks without blinking' (DN II 20:15)

sīlavā sīlasampanno yam yad eva parisam upasankamati visārado upasankamati amānku-bhūto 'the virtuous person, the one that is perfect in virtue, enters any assembly to which he goes, with full confidence and without any hesitation' (DN II 80:9)

Samaṇo Gotamo nihitadāḍḍo nihitasattho lajjī dayāpanno sabba-pāṇa-bhūta-hitānukampī viharati 'the recluse Gotamo has laid aside cudgel and sword, avoids evil, is full of mercy, is full of solicitude for the welfare of all living beings' (DN I 4:1-3)

tvam pi nāma mogha-purisa sakya puttiyo paṭijānissasi 'you fool, do you claim to be a follower of the son of the Sakiya?' (DN III 7:1)

Devadatto kapaṇo marissati 'Devadatta will die a pauper'

Dussīlo sīlavipanno sammūḷho kālaṃ karoti 'the evil immoral person dies in his infatuation' (Ud 87:2)

d). Very often one or more simple adjectives or bahubbīhi samāsa are used predicatively instead of relative clauses:

adhigato kho me ayam dhammo gambhīro duddaso duranubodho santo paṇīto atakkāvacaro nipuno paṇḍitavedaniyo 'a doctrine has been grasped by me that is deep and difficult to understand and difficult to realize, true and excellent, beyond ordinary reasoning, subtle, and that can be perceived only by the learned' (DN II 36:1)

e). *varam* in the neuter is used predicatively in the sense of an excellent thing i.e. excellent, and in comparison in the sense of more excellent, better than

varam assatarā dantā ājāniyā ca sindhavā-kuṭṭjarā ca mahānāgā attadanto tato varam 'excellent are well trained mules and noble horses of Sind, stately elephants, but better than all those is the man who has trained his own self.' (Dpd 322).

238. The pronouns.

a). A pronoun may take the place of a noun. In this case the pronoun agrees in gender and number with the noun which it replaces, but takes the case required by the structure of the sentence:

sace tvam Ānanda Tathāgataṃ yāceyyāsi dve ca te vācā Tathāgato paṭikkhipeyya 'if you, O Ananda, had requested the Tathagata, the Tathagata might have refused two of your requests' (DN II 117:16)

b). A pronoun may be used with a noun agreeing with it in gender, number and case:

etehi dvīhi dhammehi yo samannāgato naro kāyassa bhedaṃ sappañño saggam so upapajjati 'the man who is endowed with these two characteristics and hence is wise, at the breaking up of the body will arise in heaven' (Itv 27:7)

c). A pronoun that refers to a collective noun is generally put in the plural, though the singular is also found:

bahujano cittaṃ pasādeti, te tattha cittaṃ pasadetvā ... saggam lokam upapajjanti 'the people foster a well disposed mind, and when they have fostered a well disposed mind with regard to it, they are reborn in a heavenly world'. (DN II 142:21)

Assosi... mahājanakāyo ... sutvāna tesam etad ahosi 'the people heard... and after hearing, this occurred to them' (DN II 29:31)

sace bhikkhu parisā Ānandaṃ dassanāya upasaṅkamati, dassanena sā attamanā hoti 'if the assembly of the monks has come to see Ananda, it is happy on seeing him' (DN II 145:5)

239. Personal Pronouns. The pronominal enclitic forms *me*, *te*, *no*, *vo* are never used at the beginning of a sentence, or after a vocative, or after an enclitic particle like *ca*, *va*, *eva*:

evam me sutam 'thus have I heard'

putto te, deva, jāto 'a son has been born to you, O king'.

240. Demonstrative pronouns.

a). The pronouns *eso*, *ayam* are used to express a person or object near the speaker, while the pronouns *so*, *asu*, *amu* express a person or object far from the speaker:

ayam pana puriso kim kato 'what has this man done?'

te bhikkhū yena bhagavā tena upasaṅkamunsu 'those monks went up to the Blessed One'.

Samano Gotamo ito sutvā na amutra akkhātā imesaṃ bhedāya, amutra vā sutvā na imesaṃ akkhātā amūsaṃ bhedāya 'the ascetic Gotama never repeats there anything he has heard here to create dissension among those people, and what he has heard there he does not repeat it here to create dissension among them here' (DN I 4:18)

- b). The pronouns *so, eso* are used to strengthen the personal pronouns:

esāhaṃ Bhagavantam saraṇaṃ gacchāmi 'I indeed take my refuge in the Blessed One' (DN II 132:34)

tassa mayham etad ahosi 'this occurred even to me'

- c). The demonstrative pronouns *ayam, asu*, repeated twice, have the meaning of **this and that, so and so, such and such**:

idaṇ ca idan ca āha 'he said such and such a thing'

- d). The pronoun *ayam* is often used in the sense of **here**:

ayam samano Gotamo āgacchati 'here comes the recluse Gotama' (MN II 2:5)

idaṃ āsanam paññattaṃ 'here is the seat prepared' (MN II 2:13)

241. Indefinite pronouns. Pali has no special indefinite pronouns, but their absence is made good by the combinations of other pronouns. An indefinite meaning is conveyed by

- a). the demonstrative pronoun repeated twice:

tāsu tāsu disāsu 'in any direction'

ayaṇ ca ayaṇ ca amhākaṃ rañño silācāro 'such and such is the good behaviour of our king'.

- b). the relative pronoun repeated twice. What is expressed by the relative pronoun is then taken up by the demonstrative pronoun repeated also twice:

yam yam passati tam tam pucchati 'he asks whatever he sees'

- c). the relative or the interrogative pronoun followed by a demonstrative pronoun:

ye pi te ahesuṃ atītaṃ addhānaṃ arahanto 'whoever in the past were arahats' (AN II 21:9)

- d). the relative pronoun followed by the interrogative *ko ci*:
yam kiñci samudaya-dhammaṃ sabbam tam nirodha-dhammaṃ 'whatever is liable to arise is also liable to fall away.'

- e). the interrogative pronoun followed by *ci, pi, api* in a negative sentence:

kassaci kin ci na deti 'he does not give anything to anybody'.

- f). the pronominal adjectives *amuka, asuka*:

amukasmim nāma āvāse eko thero bhikku viharati 'in such and such a dwelling there lives an elderly monk' (DN II 125:25)

242. Possessive pronouns. Pali has no possessive pronouns, but their absence is made good in various ways:

- a). The genitive case of the personal pronouns can be used to indicate possession:

amhākaṃ pitā 'our father'

tassa potthakaṃ 'his book'

- b). The genitive singular *attano* is used as possessive pronoun both for the singular and the plural, for the masculine and the feminine:

so modati so pamodati disvā kamma-visuddhiṃ attano 'he rejoices, he is very happy when he sees the purity of his actions' (Dpd 16).

- c). The adjectives *sa, saka, nija, miya, niyaka* are used for all the three persons to indicate possession:

nisinno ahaṃ sake āsane 'I am sitting in my own seat' (MN II 66:6)

nanu sakam geham gantabbam 'was it not fitting for you to go to your own house?' (MN II 62:25)

sāmino hi sāni haranti 'the owners carry away their own things' (MN I 366:7)

sehi kammehi dummedho aggi-daddho va tappati 'by his own deeds the fool is consumed as if being burnt with fire' (Dpd 136)

nihiṭo sena mānena 'he has been brought low by his own mind' (Sn 132)

d) The possessive meaning is also conveyed by the adjective *māmaka*:

māmako sāvako 'my disciple'

243. **Reflexive pronouns.** As reflexive pronouns are used the oblique cases of *attā* and the adverbs *sayam*, *samam*:

so karoḥi dipam attano 'make an island for yourself' (Dpd 236)

duggā uddharatha attānaṃ 'draw yourself out of the evil way' (Dpd 327)

sayam ajānaṃ avatinṇa-kankho kiṃ so pare sakkhati nijjhāpetum 'when in his own ignorance a person is himself not free from doubts, how can he enlighten other people?' (Sn 320)

tvam sayam dahissati attānaṃ 'you will burn yourself' (MN I 338:24)

yad eva sāmam ñātam sāmam diṭṭham sāmam vīditam tad evāhaṃ vadāmi 'I declare whatever has been known by myself, seen by myself and understood by myself'. (Itv 59:4)

so tattha sāmam nisīditvā 'he himself sat there' (MN I 383:18)

244. **Correlative pronouns.**

a). A relative pronoun is often used as correlative with a demonstrative pronoun:

yo dhammam passati so Buddham passati 'he who see the dhamma, sees the Buddha'.

yassa pāpaṃ katam kammam kusaleṇa pīṭhiyati so imam lokam pabhāseti 'he illumines the world who covers the evil done by means of good deeds' (Dpd 173)

ime kho tayo satthāro ye loke codanārahā yo ca panevarūpe sattharo codeti sā codanā bhūtā 'these are the three teachers who deserve blame in the world and he who blames such teachers, his blame is justified' (DN I 232:1)

b). Sometimes the same pronoun is repeated twice or oftener in the beginning of each sentence or phrase:

aññaṃ jīvaṃ aññaṃ sarīraṃ 'one thing is life and another is the body' (DN I 188:9)

taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ sarīraṃ 'the body is the same thing as life' (DN I 188:5)

aññaṃ jīvaṃ aññaṃ sarīraṃ 'life is one thing and the body is another' (DN I 188:9)

sabbe kāmā samucchinnā ye dibbā ye ca mānusa 'every pleasure, whether divine or human, has been rooted out.' (Thg 47)

CHAPTER XIX

SYNTAX OF
THE CASES

A noun is placed in one case or in another according to its relation to a verb, or noun, or adjective, or preposition, or prepositional adverb. The only exception is the vocative case which usually stands by itself.

N o m i n a t i v e

245. The nominative is used to express:

a). the subject or subjects of a finite verb:

Bhagavā sāvatthīyaṃ viharati 'the blessed One abides at Savatthi'
atha kho Punno ca Koliyaputto acelo ca Seniyo yena Bhagavā
tena upasankamimsu 'then the young Koliya Punna and the
ascetic Seniya went up to the Blessed One' (MN I 387:8)

b). the predicate of the verbs *as-*, *bhū-* and the predicative of the subject with verbs meaning 'to appear, to become, to be called, to be appointed or elected'. The verbal forms of *as-*, *bhū-* are sometimes omitted:

aggo ahaṃ asmi lokassa 'I am the chief of the world' (DN II 12:10)

appasaddā bhonto hontu 'please, do not make noise' (DN I 179:7)

ayam ettha dhammatā 'this is the rule here' (DN II 12:15)

suññaṃ brahma-vimānaṃ pātubhavati 'the place of Brahma appears empty' (DN I 17:25)

so kho panāyaṃ akkhāto vepullo pabbato mahā 'this indeed is called a great vast mountain' (Itv 17:16)

yo aññadatthu vijjā-carana-sampānnasseva paricārako sampajjati
'he is certainly the follower of one who is endowed with knowledge and right behaviour' (DN I 102:4)

Sambuddho paṭijānāsi 'do you profess to be the Buddha?' (Sn 555)

rājā arahasi bhavitum cakkavattī 'are you worthy to be a universal king?' (Sn 552)

c). The nominative is used with the indeclinable *sakkā*, *labbhā* followed by an infinitive; what is possible is expressed with the nominative:

sakkā imasmiṃ dhamma-vinaye anupubba-sikkhā anupubba-kiriya
anupubba-paṭipadā paññāpetum 'in this doctrine and discipline it is possible to point out a gradual training, a gradual practice, a gradual path' (MN III 2:1)

na heso labbhā sapariggahena phassetum kevalo bhikkhu-dhammo
'the full law of a monk cannot be realized by one who is busy with his possessions' (Sn 393)

d). The titles of books or of chapters are in the nominative:

sattamo picchedo 'the seventh chapter'

Therī-gāthā 'the songs of the nuns'

e). For the nominative with the particle *itī*, see no 236 c.

V o c a t i v e

246. The vocative case is used in addressing people or objects.

- a). The vocative case is never put at the beginning of a sentence in the Pali canonical language:

evam deva 'yes sir'

yojehi samma sārathi bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni 'O charioteer, harness the best chariots' (DN II 21:16)

apehi bhikkhu mā me purato aṭṭhāsi 'go, o monk, do not remain before me' (DN II 139:6)

The only exception seem to be the words *bhikkhavo*, *bhadante*, *āvuso*, *ambho* used to draw the attention of the persons addressed:

Tatra kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi: bhikkhavo ti. Bhadante ti te bhikkhū bhagavato paccassosum 'then the Blessed One addressed the monks, 'O monks'. 'Reverend sir', they replied'. (MN I 101:2)

Tatra kho āyasmā Sāriputto bhikkhū āmantesi: āvuso bhikkhavo ti. Āvuso ti kho te bhikkhū āyasmato Sāriputtassa paccassosum 'then the Reverend Sariputta addressed the monks: O monks. The monks replied to the Reverend Sariputta, "Yes, friend". (MN I 124:12)

Ambho purisa, yaṃ tvam na jānāsi na passasi, tam tvam icchasi kāmesi 'O man, do you desire and wish to get what you do not know and you do not see?' (DN I 193:15)

- b). In addressing persons of great authority, besides the proper honorific word in the vocative case, another word is used referring to the same person and is put in the nominative case as subject of the verb:

desetu bhante Bhagavā dhammaṃ, desetu Sugato dhammaṃ 'Lord, may the Blessed One preach the doctrine, may the Happy One preach the doctrine' (DN II 37:15)

nisīdatu bhante Bhagavā 'Lord, may the Blessed One sit' (DN I 179:18)

etu kho bhante bhagavā sāgatam bhante bhagavato 'O Lord, may the Blessed One come, O Lord, welcome to the Blessed One, (DN I 179:16)

- c). In speaking to people, different words are used either to point out their rank or to show respect or even endearment. Some of the most common words of address are: *bho*, *bhante*, *āvuso*, *deva*, *bhadante*, *devī*, *mahārāja*, *gahapati*, *brāhmaṇa*, *mārisa*, *tāta*, *samma*

The monks are addressed with the words *bhikkhu*, *bhikkhave*, or with their personal name alone or preceded by one of the words *bho*, *āvuso*, *āyasmā*, *samaṇa*. In addressing the monks, the lay disciples use the word *bhante*, while the gods address them with the word *mārisa*.

Kings and queens, princes and princesses are addressed as *mahārāja*, *deva*, *devī*, *kumāra*, *kumārī*.

A person of authority is addressed as *ayya*, *putta*, *ayye*, *seṭṭhi*

Relatives are addressed as *tāta*, *amma*, *dāraka*, *bhaginī*.

Sometimes with a proper name are used words like *brāhmaṇa*, *gahapati*, *māṇava*, *mānavaka*, *ambho purisa*; sometimes *samma* is used as *samma sārathi* 'good charioteer'.

A c c u s a t i v e

247. The accusative is used to express:

- a). the object of transitive verbs:

atha kho bhagavā sāvatthim pāvisi 'then the Blessed one entered Savatthi' (DN I 178:8)

alattha kho Magandiyo paribbājako bhagavato santike pabbajjam *alattha upasampadam* 'the wanderer Magandiya received

the lower and the higher ordination from the Blessed One' (MN I 513:1)

bhajeṭṭha mitte kalyāṇe 'one should associate with good friends' (Dpd 78)

na so kāsāvaṃ arahati 'he is not worthy of the yellow robes' (Dpd 9)

atha kho rājā māgadho dūtāṃ pāhesi 'then the king of Magadha sent a messenger' (DN II 164:26)

b). the object of verbs which become transitive when they are compounded with a preposition like *adhi*, *anu*, *upa*, *ati*, *abhi*, *paṭi*, *pari*:

oḷārikāṃ kho ahaṃ attānaṃ paccemi 'I fall back on a self that is coarse' (DN I 186:1)

acīraṃ vatayaṃ kāyo paṭhaviṃ adhisessati 'before long this body will lie on the earth' (Dpd 41)

te bhikkhū bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandun 'the monks rejoiced at what the Blessed One said'. (DN I 46:27)

sādhū vata bhavaṇṭaṃ Ānandaṃ paṭibhātu sake ācariyake dhammā kathā 'it would be good if a discourse on the doctrine were to occur to the reverend Ananda with regard to his teachers (it would be good if the reverend Ananda were to make'....) (MN I 514:25)

c). the object of an intransitive verb turned into causative:

bandhumā rājā Vipassī-kumāraṃ aṅkhe nisidāpesi 'king Bandhuma made prince Vipassī sit on his lap' (DN II 20:20)

kaṇhaṃ dhammaṃ vippahāya sukkaṃ bhāvētha paṇḍito 'the wise man should leave behind the path of darkness and follow the path of light; (Dpd 87)

poṭṭhapādo paribbājako sakaṃ paraṃ saṇṭhāpesi 'Potthapada, the wandering ascetic, built up a group of followers' (DN I 179:5)

d). Sometimes an accusative has been used with some past participles and some verbal nouns:

bhagavantaṃ piṭṭhito piṭṭhito anubaddhā honti 'they followed just behind the Blessed One' (Ud 89:29)

nimi rājā sisam nahāto... upari-pāsādavara-gato nisinno hoti 'king Nimi, having bathed his head...went to the terrace and sat there' (MN II 79:11)

addasa kho koliya-putto suppavāsaṃ ... arogaṃ puttāṃ vijātaṃ 'the son of the Koliyas saw that Suppavasa had given birth to a healthy child' (Ud 16:9)

na so mitto yo ... randhaṃ evanupassī 'he is not a friend who finds only weak points' (Sn 255)

imaṃ dhammaṃ bhavaṃ gotamo ārādhako 'Gotama is the one who practises this doctrine' (MN I 492:2)

e). Though *dassanāya* is the dative case of a noun, yet it is sometimes used as a verb with an accusative, chiefly when the object of seeing is the Buddha:

samma-sambuddhaṃ dassanāya upasaṅkamissāma 'we shall come to see the fully Enlightened One' (MN II 46:7)

f). The accusative is used to express the purpose or the goal for which an action is done and the place to which an action is directed:

idaṃ brahmacariyaṃ vussati samvarattham 'the celibate life is lived for the sake of self-restraint' (AN II 26:6)

vipassī kumāro ... uyyānabhūmiṃ niyyāsi 'prince Vipassī set out for the park' (DN II 21:23)

agamā rajagahaṃ buddho 'the Buddha went to Rajagaha' (Sn 408)

g). The verbs *gacchati*, *eti*, *yāti* are often used with the accusative of an abstract noun:

attham gacchanti āsavā 'the defilements come to an end' (Dpd 226)

so bālo thero ti eva saṅkham gacchati 'he is called a foolish elder' (AN II 22:22)

appamādena Maghavā devānam seṭṭhatam gato 'by earnestness Maghava became the chief of the gods' (Dpd 30)

adassanaṃ maccurājassa gacche 'he ought to go beyond the sight of the king of death' (Dpd 46)

sabbampi taṃ na catubbhāgaṃ eti 'all that is not worth even one fourth' (Dpd 108)

sabbe maccuvāsaṃ yanti 'all fall into the power of death' (Sn 528)

h). The accusative is used to express extension of time and space:

so cattāro māse parivasati 'he must live under probation for four months' (DN II 152:17)

kusinārā ... puratthimena ca pacchimena ca dvādasa yojanāni: 'Kusinara extended 12 yojanas from east to west' (DN II 146:27)

i). The accusative is used to express the price or the value of a thing

sabbāni tāni mettāya cetovimuttiyā kalam nagghanti soḷasim: 'all of them are not worth one sixteenth part of the emancipation of the mind through loving kindness' (Itv 19:4)

248. Accusative governed by prepositions.

The accusative is used also when a noun is governed by a preposition, or a prepositional adverb or by a past gerund used as preposition.

a). The prepositions that govern the accusative are *anu*, *adhi*, *paṭi*

anu pañcāhaṃ 'every five days'

anu vassaṃ 'every year'

paṭi vātaṃ 'against the wind'

paṭi suriyam ṭhatvā 'standing against the sun'

nadiṃ nerañjaram paṭi 'towards the river Narañjara' (Therī 307)

b). The prepositional adverbs which govern the accusative are: *antarā*, *yāva*, *samantā*, *pacchā*, *yathā*.

antarā ca rājagahaṃ antarā ca nālandaṃ addhāna-magga-paṭipanno hoti 'he had taken the high road between Rajagaha and Nalanda' (DN I 1:5)

yāva sattāhaṃ 'up to seven days'

dadāti ve yathā saddhaṃ yathā pasādanaṃ 'people give according to their faith and according as they are well disposed' (Dpd 249)

etha tumhe, bhikkhave, samantā vesālīm ... vassaṃ upetha 'come, O monks, and spend the rainy season everywhere in Vesali' (DN II 98:26)

c). Many past gerunds are used as prepositions governing the accusative:

gaccha tvam Ānanda yāvatikā bhikkhū rājagahaṃ upanissāya viharanti, te sabbe upatthāna-sālāyaṃ sannipatehi 'go, O Ananda, and summon to the assembly room all the monks who are dwelling in the neighbourhood of Rajagaha' (DN II 76:13)

taṃ me bhante Bhagavā paṭigāhātu anukampaṃ upādāya: 'Sir, may the Blessed One accept it out of compassion for me' (DN II 133:13)

idaṃ paṭhamam ṭhanam yaṃ agamma yaṃ ārabha ekacce samaṇa-brahmaṇā sassata-vādā 'this is the first reason on account of which and concerning which some recluses and brahmins say that the world is eternal' (DN I 14:15)

idam pahūtam sāpateyyam devam yeva uddissa āhatam 'all this wealth has been brought for the king' (DN I 142:6)

The present participle *sampassamāno* is used in the same way:

kam atthavasam sampassamāno Tathāgato sāvake abbhatīte kāla-kate uppattisu byākaroti 'for what reason does the Tathagata speak of the future births of the disciples of the past who have already died?' (MN I 464:34)

249. **Internal object.** A verb, whether transitive or intransitive, takes an object in the accusative when this object is expressed with a word derived from the same root as the verb or having the same meaning as the verb:

atha kho Bhagavā imam udānam udānesi 'then the Blessed One uttered this utterance' (Ud 28:5)

idha thapati na kāyena pāpakam kammaṃ karoti, na pāpikam vācam bhāsati, na pāpakam saṅkappam saṅkappeti, na pāpakam ājivam ājivati 'herein Thapati does not commit an evil bodily action, does not speak an evil word, does not think an evil thought, does not live an evil life' (MN II 25:10)

caratha bhikkhave cārikam bahujana hitāya 'O monks, wander about for the welfare of many people' (DN II 45:29)

rājā Mahāsudassano caturāsīti-vassa-sahassāni kumāra-kīlikam kīli 'king Mahasudassana for eightyfour thousand years played a boy's game' (DN II 196:3)

rājā mahā-yaññam yajati 'the king offers a great offering (i.e. performs a great sacrifice)' DN I 193:13)

sa piṇḍacāram caritvā 'he having gone on his rounds for alms' (Sn 414)

Sometimes even a past participle is used as a noun and as the internal object of a verb:

api nu so rājā-bhanitam vā bhanati rājā-mantanam vā manteti tāvatā so assa rājā vā raja-matto vā ti 'can one be a king

or similar to a king by merely uttering royal words and holding royal counsels?' (DN I 104:4)

bahūni duccharitāni caritvā 'by doing many evil deeds' (Sn 665)

In the examples quoted above it becomes clear that the word which expresses the object of the verb is never alone but always qualified by a pronoun, an adjective, a noun: *imam udānam*, *pāpaka-kammaṃ karoti*, *pāpika-vācam bhāsati*, *pāpaka-saṅkappam*, *pāpapakam ājivam*, *mahā-yaññam*, *piṇḍa-cāram*, *rājā-bhanitam*, *rājā-mantanam*, *duccaritāni*.

It may be worth noting that the verb *kappeti* takes a variety of objects and so it has to be translated into English according to the meaning of the object:

<i>yaññam kappeti</i>	'to offer a sacrifice'
<i>jīvitam kappeti</i>	'to lead one's life'
<i>divāvihāram kappeti</i>	'to take the noonday rest'
<i>vāsam kappeti</i>	'to make one's abode'
<i>seyyam kappeti</i>	'to lie down'
<i>nisajjam kappeti</i>	'to sit down'.

250. **Accusative used adverbially.** The accusative singular is often used adverbially.

a). A noun or an adjective can be used adverbially. *sukham* 'happily'; *sīgham* 'quickly'; *cīram* 'for a long time'

sādhukam manasikarotha 'pay attention carefully'

dutiyam pi tatiyam pi 'for the second and the third time'

b). There are many compounds used adverbially:

aho-rattim 'by day and by night'

yathā-vuddham 'according to seniority'

yathabhirantam 'according to their desire'

bhūta-pubbam 'formerly'

pure-bhattam 'before the meal i.e. in the morning'

c). Sometimes a phrase of two or three words is used adverbially:

ekam antam 'on one side'

ekam samayam 'once'

atitam addhanam 'formerly'

yañ ca rattim Tathāgato anuttaram sammā-sambodhim abhisambujjhati
yañ ca rattim anupadisesāya nibbāna-dhātuyā parinibbāyati
'O monks, between the night when the Tathagata attained the complete perfect enlightenment and the night when he passes away without leaving any link behind' (Itv 121:20)

d). An adjective or noun derived from the same root as the verb of the sentence or from a root having the same or similar meaning is sometimes used in the accusative as an adverb. This accusative is found also with a past participle:

Dandapāṇi pi kho sakko jaṅghavihāraṃ anucaṅkamamāno
anuvicaramāno: 'while the Sakya Dandapani was moving and walking about' (MN I 108:19)

Tathāgato anuttaram sambodhim abhisambujjhati 'the Tathagata is fully enlightened (is enlightened with the highest enlightenment)' (Ud 85:8)

bhavam pi Gotamo anuttaram sammā-sambodhim abhisambuddho
ti patijānati 'the Tathagata is aware that he has attained the highest enlightenment (is enlightened with the highest and complete enlightenment)'. (SN I 68:11)

seyyathapi puriso purisam naraka-papatam papatanatam kesesu
gahetvā uddharitvā thale patitthapeyya 'just as a man would take by the hair another man who had fallen into a pit and were to place him on solid ground' (DN I 234:5)

sabba santharim santhāgāram santharitvā 'having fully spread the council hall (having spread the council hall with a complete spreading)' (VP I 227:2)

e). Sometimes the verb of a sentence is preceded by the participle of the same verb in the accusative or of a verb having similar meaning as the verb of the sentence:

atha kho Bhagavā nāgapalokitam apalokesi 'the the Blessed one looked with an elephant look' (MN I 337:2)

uppannam parappavādam sahadhammena suniggahitam niggahevā
'having fully refuted with his doctrine the views put forward by others' (DN III 123:15)

suvikkhālitam vikkhāletvā 'having well cleansed (having cleansed with a complete cleansing)' (VP I 215:1)

suppabuddham pabujjanti sadā Gotama-sāvaka 'the disciples of Gotama are always fully enlightened (enlightened with a perfect enlightenment)' (Dpd 296).

antovanam suvisodhitam visodheyya 'one should fully clear a forest (should clear with a full clearing)' (MN I 124:33)

yathā bhuttam bhuñjatha 'eat well (eat as much as can be eaten)' (DN III 62:19)

251. Double accusative.

a). Verbs meaning "to call, to appoint, to choose, etc." take the accusative of the object and the accusative of the predicative of the object:

tam aham brūmi brāhmanam 'him do I call a brahmin' (Dpd 391)

tam jano kurute piyam 'him do people hold dear' (Dpd 217)

saṅgham samaggaṃ katvana 'having established unity in the sangha' (Itv 12:12)

upāsakam maṃ Bhagava dhāretu 'may the Blessed One hold me as a lay disciple'.

N.B. There are cases where the predicative does not agree in number with the object. In such cases the predicative may be taken as forming one thing with the verb:

ettha Bhagavā paṇiyam ca pivissati gattāni ca sītam karissati
'here the Blessed One will drink water and cool his limbs'
(Ud 83:14)

- a). Some transitive verbs like *yacati*, *vatti* (<*vac*), *vadati*, *pucchati*, *duhati* take two accusatives:

bhikkhū Bhagavantam etad avocum 'the monks said this to the Blessed One'

Sakko Bhagavantam pathamam paṇham pucchi 'Sakka put the first question to the Blessed One' (DN II 276:1)

gāvim khiram duhati 'he milks the cow'.

vandanam dāni vajjāsī lokanātham anuttaram 'now you should extend your homage to the highest lord of the world' (Therī 308)

N.B. *gacchati* takes also two accusatives in the expressions *Buddham saraṇam gacchāmi*, *dharmam saraṇam gacchāmi*, *saṅgham saraṇam gacchāmi*.

- b). When a transitive verb that governs two accusatives is turned into passive, the subject of the verb is placed in the instrumental case, the real object of the verb remains in the accusative while the other object is placed in the nominative; v.g. *so Buddham paṇham pucchi*, in the passive construction becomes *Buddho tena paṇham puṭṭho* 'the Buddha was asked a question by him'.

so mayā paṇham puṭṭho samano 'he being asked a question by me' (MN II 31:10)

- c). When a transitive verb is turned into causative, then the object of the verb is put in the accusative. The agent that is caused to do the action can also be put in the accusative

if there is no possibility of confusion, otherwise it is put in the instrumental.

Ānando Malle Bhagavantam vandāpesi 'Ananda made the Mallas worship the Blessed One' (DN II 148:22)

Gotamī Bhagavantam thaṇṇaṇ pāyesi 'Gotami made the Blessed One suck at her breast'

vicikiccham mam atāresi 'you made me overcome my doubts' (Sn 540)

252. **Absolute construction.** Sometimes a phrase in the accusative is used as an absolute construction:

arūpī ce pi te attā abhaviṣṣa saññāmayo, evaṃ santam pi kho te aññā ca saññā bhavissati añño attā 'even if you were to have a conscious soul, though this may be so, yet in you one thing would be the consciousness and another the soul' (DN I 187:3)

santam yeva kho pana param lokam: naṭṭhī paro loko ti assa ditthi hoti, sā assa hoti micchā ditthi 'as there is another world, if one says there is no other world, then such a view would be a wrong view for him' (MN I 402 23)

atha kho rāja-kumāro bhagavantam bhuttāvim onita-patta-pāṇim aññataram nīcam āsanam gahetvā ekam antam nisīdi 'when the Blessed one had finished his meal and had laid down the bowl, the prince took a low seat and sat on one side' (MN I 393:29)

Instrumental

The instrumental case is used to denote the agent of an action with relation to a verb or a noun or an adjective or a preposition.

253. a) The instrumental case is used to express the agent that performs the action denoted by a passive or a causative verb:

vuttam hi etam Bhagavatā vuttam arahatā 'this was said by the Blessed One, said by the arahat' (Itv 3:1)

seyyathāpi pi puriso nadiyā sotena ovuyheyya 'just as a man were to be carried by the current of a river' (Itv 113:15)

N.B. The instrumental is used with words like *sakkā*, *vattati*, *dujjānam*, *sukaram* followed by an infinitive:

sakkā pana etam mayā ñatun 'it is possible for me to know it' (DN I 187:11)

dujjānam kho etam tayā añña-ditthikena 'it is difficult for you to understand this since you follow a different doctrine' (DN I 187:13)

anujānāmi therena bhikkhunā anumoditum 'I approve that an elderly monk enjoys this' (VP II 212:19)

nayidam sukaram agāram ajjhāvasatā brahmacariyaṃ caritum 'it is not easy for a householder to live the celibate life' (MN II 55:28)

b). The instrumental case is used to express the instrument or the means used in performing an action:

assosi kho Bhagavā dibbāya sota-dhātuyā imam kathā-sallāpam 'the Blessed One heard this conversation with his divine ear' (DN II 1:8)

Bhagavā imāhi gāthāhi anumodi 'the Blessed One gave thanks with these stanzas' (DN II 88:27)

rājā bhagavato pāde sīrasā vandati 'the king pays homage to the feet of the blessed One with his head' (DN II 72:13)

na kāyena papakam kammam karoti 'he does not do an evil action with the body' (MN II 24:7)

na samaṇo Gotamo brāhmaṇe āsanena nimanteti 'the recluse Gotama does not offer a seat to the brahmins' (AN II 22:8)

āvāsika bhikkhu āgantuke bhikkhū disvā na paṇiyena pucchanti 'the residential monks do not offer water on seeing the monks who come' (VP II 210:11)

Na hi verena verāni sammanti idha kudācanaṃ 'in this world hatreds are never appeased with hatred' (Dpd 5)

c). The instrumental is used to express the reason or cause for which an action is performed:

tena kho pana samayena Kosinārakā Mallā santhāgāre sannipatitā honti kenacid eva karaniyena 'at that time the Mallas of Kusinara had assembled in the town hall on account of some business' (DN II 147:23)

sace bhikkhu parisā Ānandam dassanāya upasaṅkamanti, dassanena sā attamanā hoti 'if the monks come to see Ananda, they will be pleased on seeing him' (DN II 145:5)

bhikkhu santuṭṭho hoti itaritarena cīvarena 'a monk is satisfied with any kind of robe' (AN II 27:19)

na akāraṇena Tathāgatā sitam pātukaronti 'the Tathagatas do not smile without a reason' (MN II 45:5)

d). The instrumental is used to express the manner in which an action is performed or the circumstances accompanying it:

iminā pi etam pariyāyena veditabbam 'this should be understood in this way' (DN II 57:19)

adhivāsesi bhagavā tuṇhi bhāvena 'the Blessed One accepted in silence' (DN II 84:20)

so tathāgataṃ pūjeti paramāya pūjāya 'he honours the Tathagata with the highest homage' (DN II 138:20)

atha kho bhagavā dakkhiṇena passena sīhaseyyaṃ kappesi 'then the Blessed One lay down like a lion on the right side' (DN II 137:16)

- e). The instrumental is used to express the place through which motion occurs:

atha kho Bhagavā yena dvārena nikkami taṃ Gotama-dvāram nāma ahosi 'then the gate by which the Blessed One went out came to be called Gotama's gate' (DN II 89:10)

taṃ Buddham anantagocaram apadam kena padena nessatha 'by what path will you lead the Buddha who is independent of any path and whose range is limitless?' (Dpd 179)

yāvatakena antarena Campam gatāgatam karissati 'he will go and return all the distance between here and Campa' (MN I 340:27)

- f). The instrumental is used to express the time within which an action is performed

paṭhamena eva yāmena Malle Bhagavantam vandāpesi 'he made he Mallas pay homage to the Blessed One during the first watch' (DN II 148:26)

- g). The instrumental is used to express the price at which something is valued:

dehi etaṃ bhaddam sata-sahassena 'give us this meal for a hundred thousand coins' (DN II 96:19)

- h). The instrumental is used to express a quality or a defect.

daharo ce pi hoti bhaddena yobbanena samannāgato paṭhamena vayasā 'even if one is young and endowed with his lucky youth and with his prime of life' (AN II 22:23)

Kusāvati dasahi saddehi avivittā ahosi 'Kusavati was not deprived of the ten sounds' (DN II 147:7)

254. a). The instrumental is used to express qualities, defects, birth, lineage, origin, nature, identity, equality, likeness, superiority, inferiority:

Vipassī khattiyo jātiyā ahosi 'Vipassī was a Ksatriya by caste' (DN II 3:1)

pakāṭiyā sīlavatī Bodhisatta-mātā hoti 'the mother of the Bodhisatta is virtuous by nature' (DN II 12:27)

na attano balena samasamam samanupassāmi 'I do not see anyone who is entirely equal to me in strength' (MN II 69:15)

- b). The instrumental is used to express the extension of an object expressed with words like *āyāmo*, *vitthāro*; (the actual extension is put in the accusative):

Kusinarā ahosi dvādasa yojanāni āyāmena satta yojanāni vitthārena 'Kusinara was twelve yojanas in length and seven yojanas in breadth' (DN II 146:26)

- c). The instrumental is used to express the second term of comparison:

nassu idha koci āyasmataṃ Vidhurena samasamo hoti 'in this there is nobody who is entirely equal to Vidhura' (MN I 333:14)

na vijjati añño samāno vā brāhmaṇo vā Bhagavatā bhiyyo abhiññatāro, there is no other recluse or brahmin more learned than the Blessed One (DN II 82:3)

ko nu kho añño mayā mahesakkhataro vā mahā lābhataro vā 'is there anyone who is more powerful than me and of greater attainment?' (DN II 248 22)

atthi nu kho te koc'añño attanā piyataro 'is thee anyone who is dearer than your own self?' (Ud 47:6)

- d). The instrumental is used with words *alam*, *kim*, *attho*:
sace te piṇḍakena attho etth'eva tiṭṭha 'if you are in need of food, wait there' (MN I 381:19)

na cāyam samano puttēna pi atthiko 'this recluse does not care even for his son' (Ud 6:3)

kim pana tena muṇḍakena samanakena dītṭhena 'what is the use of seeing this shaveling of a recluse?' (MN II 46:12)

tena hi alam dāni ajja uyyana-bhūmiyā 'then enough for today with the park' (DN II 22:15)

amhagam pi puññena attho 'even we are in need of merit' (Ud 30 4)

255. The instrumental case is used with some prepositions like *aññatra, vinā, saha, saddhum*

atha kho Bhagavā mahā bhikkhu sañghena saddhum yena Vesāli tadavasari 'then the Blessed one went to Vesali with a great number of monks' (DN II 94 2)

mayā saddhum sammodimsu 'they were pleased with me' (AN II 22:5)

evam dutiyena saha mamassa vācābhūlāpo 'there might be a conversation for me with another person' (SN 49)

deva-manussānaṃ iminā pi aññena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ neva atītanise samanupassāma na pana etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā 'with the exception of the Blessed One we do not see either in the past or in the present any other teacher endowed with this quality for the welfare of gods and men' (DN II 228:16)

256. a). The instrumental of nouns, pronouns and adjectives is sometimes used adverbially: *sukhena, dukkhena, anupubbena, sighena*. Sometimes a phrase is used adverbially, v.g. *tena samayena, aparena samayena*

b). The instrumental of some nouns is used almost like a prepositional adverb

mama vacanena Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandāhi 'pay homage to the Blessed One on my behalf by bending your head at his feet' (DN II 62:11)

tassā rattiyā accayena 'at the end of that night' (DN II 97:21)

ingha me tvam antarena yamaka-sālānaṃ uttara-sisakam mañcakam paññāpehi 'well, prepare a couch for me between the two sal-trees with the head to the north' (DN II 137:11)

c). Sometimes a relative or interrogative pronoun in the instrumental case is repeated twice to convey an indefinite meaning

yena yen'eva pakkamati 'wherever he goes' (MN I 346:4)

The correlative pronouns *yo ... so* are often used in the instrumental case adverbially to indicate place:

tena hi yena so pabbajito tena ratham pesahi 'well, then, lead the chariot there where the wanderer is (wherever the wanderer is)' (DN II 29:3)

d). The instrumental and the accusative cases are used to express the starting point and the goal respectively. Often such an expression is used adverbially

svassudam anken'eva añkam parihariyati 'he is indeed passed from hip to hip' (DN II 20:3)

bhikkhu piṇḍāya caranto labhati kālena kalam manāpīke cakkhunā rūpe 'a monk, when he goes round for alms, from time to time happens to see beautiful objects' (Ud 30 22)

so bhikkhūhi vuccamāno aññen-aññaṃ patīcarati 'when questioned by the monks, he wanders from one thing to another' (MN I 442:27)

vihārena vihāram parivenena parivenam upasaṅkamitvā 'having gone from habitation to habitation, from abode to abode' (VP III 69:9)

Sometimes instead of the instrumental and the accusative, there are two instrumental cases.

Kusāvatī puratthimena ca pacchimena ca dvādasa yojanāni āyāmena uttarena ca dakkhiṇena ca satta yojanāni vittharena 'Kusavati extended from east to west twelve yojanas in length and from north to south seven yojanas in breadth' (DN II 146:26)

A b l a t i v e

257. The ablative is used to express:

a). The starting point of an action:

niyanti dhirā lokamhā 'wise people are led out of the world' (Dpd 175)

atha kho āyasmā mahākassapo maggā okkamma aññatarasmim rukkhamūle nisidī 'then the reverend Mahakassapa, stepping out of the road, sat at the foot of a tree' (DN II 162:9)

seyyathāpi puriso pathaviyā vā pallankam āroheyya pallankā vā assapiṭṭhim āroheyya assapiṭṭhiyā vā hatthikandham āroheyya hatthikandhā vā pāsadam āroheyya 'just as a man were to climb from the ground on to a couch, from a couch to the back of a horse, from the back of a horse to the back of an elephant, from the back of an elephant to a palace' (SN 94:26)

gabbhā gabbham tamā tamam sa ve tādisako bhikkhu pecca dukkham nigacchati 'such a monk goes from womb to womb, from darkness to darkness, having gone across meets with suffering' (SN 278)

b). origin and descent:

katthā have jāyati jātivedo 'the fire indeed arises from the wood' (Sn 462)

Pāṭaliputtassa tayo antarāyā bhavissanti aggito vā udakato vā muthubhedato vā 'Pataliputra will be exposed to three dangers from fire, from water and from treason.' (Ud 88:27)

c). separation, freedom, release, warding off:

pāpā cittaṃ nivāraye 'one ought to restrain the mind from evil' (Dpd 116)

lokasmā Tathāgato visamyutto 'the Tathagata is detached from the world' (AN II 23:21)

cittam sammad eva āsavehi vimuccati 'the mind is fully free from the defiling tendencies' (DN II 91:11)

aham pitaram jīvita voropesim 'I killed my father' (DN I 85:18)

d). limitation:

sāraṇ ca sārato ñatvā asāraṇ ca asārato te sāraṇ adhigacchanti 'those who know the real as real and the unreal as unreal, attain to the real' (Dpd 12)

yo sabbam sabbato ñatvā sabbatthesu na rajjati 'he who has understood everything in every respect, is detached from all its manifestations' (Itv 4:4)

kāmesu ādinavam disvā nekkhammam datthu khemato padhānāya gamissāmi 'seeing danger in sensual pleasures, considering freedom from lust as tranquillity, I'll aim at the concentration of the mind' (Sn 424)

Tathāgato atīte buddhe jātito pi anussarati nāmato pi anussarati gottato pi anussarati āyuppanānato pi anussarati sāvaka-yugato pi anussarati 'The Tathagata remembers the previous Buddhas by birth, he remembers them by name, he remembers them by lineage, he remembers them by the length of their lives, he remembers them by the two main disciples' (DN II 10:7)

NB. In this sense, the ablative is usually formed with the suffix -to.

e). cause, reason, motive:

tanhāya jāyati soko tanhāya jāyati bhayaṃ 'from craving there arises suffering, from craving there arises fear' (Dpd 216)

jāti-paccayā jarāmaraṇam 'old age and death follow on account of birth' (DN II 55:19)

bhāti-r-iva Bhagavato mukha-vanno pasannattā indriyānam 'bright is the colour of the face of the Blessed One on account of the fact that the senses are calm' (DN II 205:9)

f). the second term of comparison:

suttā jagaritam seyyo 'watchfulness is better than sleep' (Itv 41:17)

matam te jīvītā seyyo 'for you death is better than life' (VP III 72:7)

atthi etamhā sukhā aññam sukham abhikkantataran ca papitataran ca 'there is another happiness that is superior and more excellent than this' (MN I 398:27)

tato atthagunam dassam hiraññam ratanāni ca 'I will give you gold and jewels eight times more than that' (Theri 153)

258. The ablative governed by prepositional adverbs.

a). Sometimes an ablative is governed by prepositional adverbs like *aññatra*, *pubbe*, *yāva*, *vinā*, *arakā*, *param*, *adho*

aham aññatreva bhagavatā aññatreva bhikkhu saṅghā uposatham karissāmi 'I shall hold the uposatha separately from the Blessed one and from the assembly of the monks'

mayham pi pubbe va sambodhā etad ahosi 'before the enlightenment this occurred to me'.

sukham yāva jarā sīlam 'virtue till old age is happiness' (Dpd 333)

yāva maraṇakālā 'till death' (VP III 73:22)

yāva brahmalokā 'till the world of Brahma' (VP III 19:5)

ñāti saṅghā vinā hoti 'he is away from his many relatives' (SN 589)

so arakā va saṅghamhā 'he is far from the monks' (Ud 55:15)

param maranā 'after death'

uddham pādatalā amma adho ve kesamatthakā 'mother, from the sole of the feet to the hair of the head' (Theri 33)

The past gerund *paṭṭhāya* is also used with the ablative: *dahara kālato paṭṭhāya* 'since childhood'

b). The ablative is sometimes used adjectivally or as prepositional adverb governing a case:

mā me purato atthāsi 'do not stand in front of me' (DN II 8:28)

mahāmattā bhagavantam piṭṭhito piṭṭhito anubaddhā honti 'the ministers followed the Blessed One step by step' (DN II 89:6)

Dative

259. In Pali only the thematic stems have a true dative case in *-āya*. It is only such examples of dative that are mentioned here. For the rest Pali uses the genitive and it is under the genitive that are classified the examples which in other languages are considered as datives.

a). The dative is used to express the purpose of an action:
atha kho Bhagavā Vesālīm pindāya pāvīsi 'the Blessed One entered Vesali for alms' (DN II 102:1)

mahā-Govindo sāvakānam brahmaloka-sahavyatāya maggam desesi 'the great Govinda preached to his disciples the way for the attainment of the world of Brahma' (DN II 250:20)

ayam maggo ayam paṭipadā ekanta sukhassa lokassa sacchikiriyyāya 'this is the path, this is the method to attain a perfectly happy world' (DN I 192:26)

jīvitam pi me pariccattam ñātinamatthāya 'I have sacrificed even my life for the sake of my relatives' (Ud 44:4)

Magadhamahāmattā pāṭaligāme nagaram māpentī vajjinam paṭibahāya 'the ministers of Magadha are building a city at Pataligama against the attacks of the Vajjis' (Ud 88:1)

etam nibbidāya virāgaya nirodhāya upasamāya abhiññāya sambodhaya nibbānāya samvattati 'this leads to detachment from the world, to freedom from passion, to destruction of egoism,

to tranquility, to knowledge, to enlightenment, to nibbana' (DN I 189:14)

tiṭṭhatu bhante Bhagavā kappam tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappam bahujana hitāya bahujana sukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānam 'Lord, may the Blessed One remain for an age still, may the Happy One remain for an age still for the welfare of many people, for the happiness of many people, out of pity for the world, for the benefit and welfare and the happiness of gods and men' (DN II 103:11)

- b). The dative of a verbal noun is sometimes used instead of the infinitive of the verb:

dūrā vata amhe āgatā Tathāgataṃ dassanāya 'we have come from far away to see the Tathagata' (DN II 139:2)

puriso nisseṇim kareyya pāsādassa ārohaṇāya 'a man might built steps to climb a palace' (DN I 194:19)

In the same way the dative is also used with the verbs *atthi*, *labhati* and with the verbal adjectives *bhabba*, *dullabha* and with *alam*:

na mayham labhāma tathāgataṃ dassanāya 'we get no chance of seeing the Buddha'

bhabbo dukkhakkhayāya 'he can destroy sorrow' (Itv 4:13)

abhabbo parihānāya nibbānassa santike 'he cannot fall away, for he is on the threshold of Nibbana' (AN II 40:33)

kiṃ ca pi so kammam karoti pāpakam kāyena vācā udā cetasā vā abhabbo so tassa paticchādāya 'whatever evil action he commits in deed, word or thought, he cannot hide it' (Sn 232)

nesā bhante kathā bhagavato dullabhā bhavissati pacchā savanāya 'Lord, it will not be impossible for the Blessed One to listen to this talk later' (DN I 179:29)

alam te ettakam jīvīkāya 'this will be enough for your livelihood'

alam vacanāya 'enough with your word'

nālam sallāpāya 'this is not fit for conversation'

- c). The dative is used also, though rarely, to express the place towards which an action is directed:

appo saggāya gacchati 'few go to heaven' (Dpd 120)

sāmaññam dupparāmattham nirayāya upakaddhati 'the ascetic life, taken up wrongly, drags one to hell' (Dpd 311)

- d). The dative is used to express time with such words as *ajjatanāya*, *svātanāya*:

adhivāsetu no bhavam Gotamo ajjatanāya bhataṃ 'may the reverend Gotama accept a meal from us today' (DN II 88:8)

adhivāsetu me bhante Bhagavā svātanāya bhataṃ 'Lord, may the Blessed One accept a meal from me tomorrow' (DN II 95:25)

Genitive

The genitive, in its primary meaning, conveys the sense of connected with, belonging to. It may also express a quality. In Pali the genitive corresponds to both the genitive and the dative in Sanskrit.

260. a) **Adjectival and appositional genitive.** The genitive is used to define or complete the meaning of the noun on which it depends, and is usually similar to an attribute or an apposition:

dukkho pāpassa uccayo 'painful is the accumulation of evil' (Dpd 117)

ayam imassa bhāsītassa attho 'this is the meaning of such a word' (AN II 35:21)

Bhagavato pade sirasā vandāhi 'with your head pay homage to the feet of the Blessed One' (DN II 72:11)

Anāthapīṇḍikassa ārame 'in the monastery of Anathapīṇḍika' (DN I 178:3)

- b). Subjective genitive. The genitive is used to express the agent of the action denoted by the word that governs such a genitive:

gatum tesam jāniṣṣāmi abhisamparāyam 'I shall know their destiny and their future state' (DN II 204:29)

- c). Objective genitive. The genitive is used to express the object of an agent or of any action noun:

yo vedi sabbasattānam maccupāsā pamocanam 'he who has realized the liberation of all beings from the snares of death' (DN II 37:16)

upamā kho me ayam katā atthassa viññāpanāya 'here is a simile to make the meaning clear' (Itv 114:9)

te pi satthu vaṇṇavādino honti, dhammassa vaṇṇavādino honti 'they speak in praise of the master and of the doctrine' (MN II 5:16)

- d). Partitive genitive. The genitive is used to indicate the whole of which a part is mentioned. This genitive is often used with comparative and superlative adjectives and with numerals:

piṇḍiyālopo bhojanānam appaṇ ca sulabhaṇ ca taṇ ca anavajjam 'among various kinds of food, alms-food is of little value, easily obtainable and blameless' (AN II 27:1)

aññataro kho pana āyasmā citto arahatam ahosi 'the reverend Citta became one of the arahats' (DN I 203:5)

danto damayatam seṭṭho santo samayatam isi mutto mocayatam aggo tinno tārayatam varo 'self-controlled, he is the best among those that teach self-control; calm, he is a sage among those that teach calm; released, he is the chief of

those that lead to release, crossed over, he is the noblest among those that help to cross over' (AN II 24 24) 224

- e). Indirect object. The genitive is used to express the indirect object:

bhojanam dadamāno ariyasāvako patiggāhakānam cattāri thanāni deti 'in giving food, a noble disciple gives four things to those that receive it' (AN II 63:29)

devatā Tathāgatassa etam attham ārocesum 'did the goods inform the Tathagata of these points?' (DN II 8:23)

- f). The genitive is used to express the person or thing to whose advantage or disadvantage something redounds

dhanam matthi 'there is wealth to me i.e. I have wealth' (Dpd 62)

idaṃ amhākaṃ ācariyānam bhavissati 'this will be for our teachers' (VP II 160:27)

Mahā Govindassa evam kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhuggaṇchi 'such a lovely reputation had spread with regard to Maha Govinda' (DN II 237:1)

vihesā v'esā Tathāgatassa 'this might be a source of disturbance for the Tathagata' (DN II 93:13)

pitā puttānam piyo hoti manāpo 'the father is dear to and loved by the children' (DN II 178:3)

lābhā vata bho Aṅga-Magadhānam suladdham vata bho Aṅga-Magadhānam 'it is advantageous to the Angas and Magadhas, it is very beneficial to the Angas and Magadhas'

paṇḍitassa pīti jāyati pitimanassa kāyo passambhati 'joy arises in the wise man, and the body becomes calm in a person whose mind is joyful'

- g). The genitive is used with the words of salutation like *namo*, *sotthi*, *svāgatam/sāgatam*:

sāgatam bhagavato 'welcome to the Blessed One'.

sotthi hotu rañño 'blessing to the king' (DN I 96:13)

namatthu mahā Govindassa 'hail to the great Govinda' (DN II 250.6)

261. **Genitive with verbs.** The genitive is used with several verbs like *hoti*, *pātu bhavati*, *pūṛati*, *dussati*, *appamaññati*, *tasati*, *bhāyati*, *pihayati*, *sarati*, *sumarati*, *suṇāti*, *jānāti*, *maccharāyati*, *saddahati*:

atha kho bhagavato etad ahoṣi 'then this occurred to the Tathagata'

yadā brahmā devānaṃ pātu bhavati 'when Brahma appears to the gods'

pūṛati bālo pāpassa 'the fool fills himself with evil' (Dpd 121)

devā pi tesāṃ pihayanti 'even the gods envy them' (Dpd 181)

sabbe tasanti daṇḍassa, sabbe bhāyanti maccuno 'all tremble at punishment, all fear death' (Dpd 129)

yo appaduṭṭhassa narassa dussati 'who offends a harmless person' (Dpd 125)

mā appamaññatha pāpassa 'do not think lightly of evil' (Dpd 121)

na tvam kassaci dukkhassa jānāsi 'you are not acquainted with any sorrow' (MN II 56:33)

Tathāgatassa asaddahamāno 'not believing the Tathagata' (DN III 8:8)

sumarati nāgavanassa kuṇjaro 'the tusker calls to mind the elephant forest' (Dpd 324)

tam kho panāham na aññassa samaṇassa vā brāhmaṇassa vā sutvā vadāmi 'I indeed point out such a thing without having heard it from any other recluse or brahmin' (Itv 58:18)

The genitive is often used to express the agent of the action with a past participle:

lokasamudayo Tathāgatassa paṇiṇo ... lokanīrodho Tathāgatassa sacchikato 'the origin of the world has been rejected by the Tathagata... the end of the world has been realized by the Tathagata' (AN II 23:23)

yassa āsavā parikkhinā 'by whom the defiling tendencies have been destroyed' (Dpd 93)

ayam pi kho samaṇo Gotamo ... sādhusammato bahujanassa 'this recluse Gotama is highly honoured by many people' (MN II 3:2)

262. **The genitive with adjectives.** The genitive is sometimes governed by adjectives like *kusala*, *sadisa*, *kevalin*, *kovidā*:

catu pañhassa kusalo 'skilled in the four questions' (AN II 46:13)

na te dhammassa kovidā 'they are not learned in the true wisdom' (Therī 184)

brahmacariyassa kevali 'perfect in the celibate life' (AN II 23:18)

caram ce na adhigaccheyya seyyaṃ sadisaṃ attano 'if a traveller were not to find one who is better or equal to himself' (Dpd 61)

263. **The genitive with prepositional adverbs.** The genitive is sometimes used with some prepositional adverbs in a local or temporal meaning. Such prepositional adverbs are: *upari*, *hetthā*, *santike*, *santikā*, *purato*, *piṭṭhito*, *avidūre*, *sakāse*, *samantā*, *puratthato*, etc.:

mānavassa upari vehāsatthito hoti 'he stood in the sky above the young man' (DN I 95:10)

mama purato pātur ahoṣi 'he appeared before me'

tassā rattiya accayena 'at the end of that night'

Bhagavato avidūre 'not far from the Blessed One' (Ud 5:4)

A genitive is sometimes used adverbially: *cirassa* 'in a short time', *divādivassa* 'late in the day'.

264. Absolute construction. Sometimes a noun or pronoun and a present or past participle are used as an absolute construction:

āyasmā Sāriputto acira-pakkantassa Bhagavato bhikkhū āmantesi
'not long after the Blessed one had gone away, the reverend
Sāriputta addressed the monks' (MN III 249:1)

yo Buddhena cudito bhikkhu saṅghassa pekkhantassa Migāra-
mātu pāsadam pādangutthena kampayī 'after he had been
reprimanded by the Buddha in the presence of the monks,
he shook the palace of the mother Migara with his foot.
(MN I 337:30)

Locative

265. The locative is used

- a). to express the place, real or figurative, where an action occurs:

Bhagavā paññatte āsane nisīdi 'the Blessed One sat on the
couch prepared for him' (DN II 76:251)

ekam samayam Bhagavā Sāvattiyam viharati Jetavane
Anāthapindikassa ārāme 'on one occasion the Blessed One
was staying in the neighbourhood of Savatthi, at the Jeta
grove in the park of Anathapindika' (DN II 1:1)

te ve dhamme viruhanti sammāsambuddhadesite 'those who
grow in the doctrine preached by the fully Enlightened one'
(AN II 26:26)

verīnesu manussesu viharāma averino 'without hatred do we
dwell among men that cherish hatred' (Dpd 197)

- b). The locative is used to express the place, real or figurative, whither an action is directed. In the locative case are placed the words that express the object of love, faith, yearning, mercy, satisfaction, etc.

idha ariyasāvako Buddhhe aveccappasādena samannāgato hoti
'herein a noble disciple is endowed with perfect faith in
the Buddha' (DN II 93:26)

jīvite apekham karohi 'cherish a desire to live' (DN II 191:2)

atthi me kumāre anukampā 'I feel pity for my child' (MN I
395:7)

dhamme sadā ramati pandito 'the wise man always takes his
delight in the doctrine' (Dpd 79)

- c). The locative is used to express contact with verbs of taking, seizing:

purisam kesesu gahetvā 'having seized a man by the hair' (DN
I 234:6)

- d). The locative is used to express the time when an action occurs:

Bhagavā tāyam velāyam imam udānam udānesi 'the Blessed
one breathed this utterance on such an occasion' (DN II
89:24)

imasmim bhaddakappe 'in this lucky age' (DN II 2:26)

rattiyā pacchime yāme 'in the last watch of the night' (DN
II 134:10)

- e). The locative is used to express the object or the quality in which one is skilled, diligent, etc.

ariyadhamme suvinīto 'well disciplined in the noble doctrine'
(MN I 434:8)

sikkhatha sikkhāpadesu 'train yourself in the precepts' (Itv
118:7)

ariyasāvako bhojane mattaññū hoti 'the noble disciple is
moderate in food' (MN I 355:19)

appamādo kusalesu dhammesu 'diligence in good things' (Itv
16:12)

ahosi tvam hatthismim pi katavi assasmim pi katavi rathasmim pi katavi 'were you skilled in riding an elephant or a horse and in leading a chariot?' (MN II 69:6)

- f). The locative is used to express the whole of which a part is taken or singled out. This occurs with comparative and superlative adjectives:

danto settho manussesu 'he who is self-controlled is the best among men' (Dpd 321)

- g). The locative is used to express the person or the object with reference to which an action is done:

katham mayam Tathāgatassa sarīre patipajjāma 'how shall we act with regard to the body of the Tathagata?' (DN II 141:18)

abhisañña-nirodhe kathā udapādi 'there arose a talk with reference to the cessation of sense perception' (DN I 180:1)

siyā kho pana eka bhikkhussa pi kankhā vā vimati vā buddhe vā dhamme vā 'it may be that there is still some uncertainty or doubt in a monk with regard to the Buddha or the doctrine' (DN II 154:24)

Bhagavā paricārake abbhatīte kāla-kate uppattisu vyākaroti 'the Blessed One recalls the followers who passed away and completed their time with reference to their rebirth' (DN II 201:2)

- h). The locative is used to express the person with whom one abides or the teacher under whom one studies.

mā samane gotame brahmacāriyam cari 'do not undertake to live the celibate life under the guidance of the recluse Gotama' (MN II 39:21)

- i). The locative is sometimes used adverbially or as a prepositional adverb, and sometimes it is governed by a preposition or prepositional adverb:

ajjatagge 'from today onwards'

sadatthe 'on one's behalf' (sa-d-atthe)

labheyyaham Bhagavato santike pabbajjam 'may I receive full initiation in the presence of the Blessed One' (DN I 202:28)

Bhagavato avidūre, sakāse 'not far from the Blessed One, in his presence'.

266. Locative absolute.

- a). The locative absolute consists of a noun or pronoun and a present or past participle both in the locative case.

āyasmante Ānande upasāṅkamante 'when the reverend Ananda was drawing near' (DN II 129:21)

atha kho Bhagavā acira pakkantāsu tāsū bhikkhūsu bhikkhū āmantesi 'soon after the nuns had gone away, the Blessed One addressed the monks' (MN III 276:10)

deve vassante deve galagalāyante vijjutāsu niccharantīsu āsaniyā phalantiyā 'amidst rain and heavy thunder and the flashing of lightnings and the bursting of thunderclaps' (DN II 131:9)

ekasmim bhāsamānasmiṃ sabbe bhāsanti nimmitā 'when one spoke, all the created forms spoke' (DN II 212:20)

āyasmato Sāriputtassa vanne bhaṇṇamāne 'when the praises of Sariputta were being recited' (SN I 64:13)

- b). The past participle has a passive or an active meaning according as the verb is transitive or intransitive:

hatthesu dhotesu patto dhoto hoti, patte dhote hatthā dhotā honti 'when the hands have been washed also the bowl is washed; when the bowl has been washed, also the hands are washed' (MN II 138:15)

samādhimhi cute obhaso antaradhāyati 'when the concentration ceased, the light disappeared' (MN III 158:6)

The participle *dhoto* (*dhotesu*, *dhote*, *dhotā*) has a passive meaning; *cute* has an active meaning.

- c). Sometimes the participle is used impersonally either alone or with the particle *evam*:

evam vutte 'when this had been said'

evam sante 'if this is so'

vandite ca pana āyasmata mahā Kassapena tehi ca pañcahi bhikkhusatehi, sayam eva Bhagavato citako pajjali 'when the worsh.p paid by the reverend Mahakassapa and by the five hundred monks was over, the pyre of the Blessed One set itself on fire' (DN II 164:1)

- d). The participle *sant* of the root *as-* 'to be' has two forms in the locative case: *sante* / *sati* which are used in different constructions. The form *sante* is generally used in the impersonal construction *evam sante* or *evam santam*, while the form *sati* (and its negative *asati*) is used to qualify a noun:

dassane sati katham paṭipajjitabbam 'when there is a sight, how should we behave?' (DN II 141:14)

sabbaso upādāne asati 'when there is no grasping whatever' (DN II 58:2)

- e) The participle *sati/asati* is sometimes used even when it qualifies a noun that is feminine in gender or plural in number:

sabbaso jātiyā asati 'when there is no more birth' DN II 57:12)

tesu ākāresu tesu līngesu tesu nimittesu tesu uddesesu asati 'when those marks and those signs and those indications and characteristics do not exist' (DN II 62:16)

N.B. The absolute construction is usually found in the locative case, rarely in the genitive (264), and very rarely in the accusative (252).

Instead of two or more words, the governing words and the words governed in two different cases, we find a compound word or *samasa* (124-142)

Paying attention to the uses of the cases, one may have noticed how the same idea can be expressed by means of different cases. This indistinctness of the cases started already in Sanskrit and became much more common in Pali

CHAPTER XX

SYNTAX OF THE VERB

In a finite verbal form we distinguish the voice, the person, the number, the tense, the mood.

The Pali verb has

two voices : active and middle (parassapada and attanopada)

three persons: first, second and third

two numbers : singular and plural

three tenses : present, past and future

four moods : indicative, imperative, optative, conditional

267. Active voice or parassapada. The active verb denotes an action which proceeds from the subject. The active verb may be transitive or intransitive.

- a). A transitive verb expresses an action which goes over to an object: *lekhanam likhāmi* 'I write a letter'.
- b). An intransitive verb expresses an action which does not go beyond the subject: *puriso magge cankamati* 'the man walks on the road'

- c). An intransitive verb becomes transitive either when it is turned into causative, or when it is compounded with a prefix like *ati*, *adhi*, *anu*, *abhi*, *upa*, *pari*.

<i>kumāro yāne nisīdi</i>	'the prince sat in the chariot'
<i>rājā kumāram yāne nisīdāpesi</i>	'the king made the prince sit in the chariot'
<i>so vibbhantacitto bhavati</i>	'he becomes distracted in mind'
<i>so cittaṃ bhāveti</i>	'he develops the mind'
<i>so agāre vasati</i>	'he lives in the house'
<i>so agāraṃ ajjhāvasati</i>	'he inhabits the house'
<i>carāmi loke</i>	'I wander in the world'
<i>aggim paricarāmi</i>	'I go round the fire i.e. I honour the fire'

268. Middle voice or attanopada.

- a). The middle voice expresses an action done for the benefit of the subject: *kacci kumāro uyyāna bhūmiyā abhiraṃittha* 'did the prince enjoy himself in the garden?'

The middle voice is rarely used in Pali, and, even when it is used, it does not always retain its original meaning. Most of the forms of the middle voice are found in poetry and often they are merely due to exigencies of metre.

yodheta māraṃ jitañ ca rakkhe 'one should attack Mara and should guard his conquest' (Dpd 40)

tādisaṃ mittam kubbetha tañ ca seveyya paṇḍito 'a wise man should make a friend of such a person and should follow him' (Itv - 87:3)

na bhaje pāpake mitte na bhaje purisadhame, bhajetha mitte kalyaṇe bhajetha purisuttame 'One should not associate with evil friends, one should not associate with low men, one should associate with lovely friends, one should associate with noble men' (Dpd 78)

- b). Sometimes a present participle attanopada points out the continuation of an action while the present participle parassapada points out the accomplishment of the action:

cetayamānassa me pāpiyo acetayamānassa me seyyo tassa acetayato tā saññā nirujjhati 'it is worse for me when I am thinking and better when I am not thinking; there is no consciousness in a person who does not think' (DN I 185:5)

- c). The forms of the middle voice which are oftener used are:

Present indicative: 1st person sg: *labhe*

3rd " " : *labhate, bhāsate, tapate, sahate, kurute, sikkhate, ākirate*

3rd " pl: *labhante, labhare, virocate, socate, upapajjate, lajjate, pithiyate*

Imperative: 2nd " sg: *labhassu, gaṇhassu, nivattassu, sikkhassu, bhajassu, yuñjassu, paccavekkhassu*

2nd " pl: *kappayavho*

Optative: 3rd " sg: *labhetha, bhajetha, yajetha, rakkhetha, yodhetha, bhuñjetha, maññetha, anuyuñjetha, kayirātha*

Aorist. 2nd " sg: *maññittho, pucchittho, paṭisevittho*

3rd " sg: *abhāsatha, pavittha, jiyittha*

Present participle: *bhāsamāna, labhamāna, kubbāna, uppajjamāna, patthayamāna, anumodamāna, jagaramāna, cetayamāna, abhisambudhāna, sajjamāna, esāna, ādana, upādiyana, anuṭṭhahāna*

- d). In Sanskrit it is a rule that the passive verb takes the middle or attanopada endings. In Pali there is no such strict rule;

the passive verbs are sometimes found with the middle endings, and sometimes with the active endings: *pahiyate, haññare, paññāyetha, apaccatha, paññāyittha, dayhamāna, desiyamāna, sakkariyamāna*, but also *labbhati, paññāyati, dayhimsu*.

- e). In Pali the passive finite forms of the verbs are not often used; in their place we find

1) the verb *hoti/atthi* with a past participle: *ditṭhosi* 'you have been seen'; *pasādena samannāgato hoti* 'he is endowed with a pleasant disposition'.

2) the verb *hoti* with a verbal noun: *etāsaṃ diṭṭhinaṃ paṇaṇaṃ hoti* 'there is the giving up of those views i.e. those views have been given up'.

3) the verbs *gacchati, arahati* followed by an abstract noun. *sabbāni tāni hatthipāde samodhanam gacchanti* 'all these are contained in the foot of the elephant'

pūjaṃ arahati 'he deserves honour i.e. he is honoured'.

Of the indefinite verbal forms the future participle passive is often used: *tam kattabbam* 'that should be done' *aham na upasankamitabbo* 'I should not be approached'.

269. The person. In Pali there are three persons both singular and plural.

- a). The verb agrees with the person of the subject: *aham gacchāmi, tvaṃ gacchasi, te gacchanti*.

Sometimes the subject of the verb is understood, especially when it is a personal pronoun: *Buddham saraṇaṃ gacchāmi*

- b). When there are two or more subjects the verb is in the plural. If the subjects contain different persons, the verb agrees with the first person in preference to the second and third, and with the second in preference to the third.

*ahañ ca imāni ca pañca bhikkhusatani sabb'eva anañjasamādhinā
nisīdumha* 'both I and these five hundred monks have all
of us been sitting down in motionless concentration' (Ud
27:14)

If the various subjects are joined together by the particle *vā*,
then the verb agrees with the nearest subject, unless the verb is
repeated with each subject:

yan nūnāham vā pabbajjeyyam Anuruddho vā 'what if I or
Anuruddha were to go forth' (VP II 180:12)

tena hi tvam vā pabbajja aham vā pabbajjissāmi 'then either
you go forth or I shall go forth' (VP II 180:18)

c). In Pali the verbs which express natural phenomena are not
impersonal. Such natural phenomena are either expressed
as effected by the divine power, or expressed by an in-
transitive verb with the name of the phenomenon as subject:

devo vassati 'it rains'

mahā meghe vassati 'the great cloud pours down rain'

devo ekamekaṃ phusāyati 'it is raining drop by drop' (Ud 5:1)

devo thaneti 'it thunders'

devo galagalāyati 'it thunders'

asanī phurati 'the thunderclap bursts i.e. there is a thunderclap'

vijjutā niccharati 'the lightning flashes i.e. there is a flash of
lightning'

vijjutā sañcarati 'there is a flash of lightning'

yathā hi meghe thanayitvā gajjayitvā pavassati 'just as a
raincloud, thundering and rumbling, pours down rain' (Itv
66:12)

d). *iti, ti*: when the subject of a sentence is a phrase ending
with *iti/ti*, the verb is in the singular and, if it is a
participle, it is in the neuter gender:

idaṃ dukkhaṃ ti mayā vyākataṃ 'this has been declared by
me as sorrow' (DN I 189:6)

ayaṃ dukkha-nirodha-gaṇiṇi paṭipadā ti kho mayā vyākataṃ
'this has been declared by me as the path leading to
the cessation of suffering' (DN I 489:9)

*ahetu apaccayā purisassa saññā uppajjanti pi nirujjhanti pi ti
ādiso va tesam aparaddham* 'when in a man sensations
arise and cease without a reason and without a cause,
this is bad for them from the beginning' (DN I 180:30)

e). There are impersonal constructions in Pali though they are
not frequent:

paṭibhātu bhikkhūnaṃ dhammaṃ bhāsituṃ 'may it please you
to recite the doctrine to the monks' (Ud 59:21)

yathā te kameyya atha maṃ byākareyyāsi 'reply to me as it
pleases you' (MN I 395:31)

*yattha nu kho na jāyati na jīyati na miyyati na cavati na
uppajjati* 'where indeed there is no being born, no growing
old, no dying, no passing away, no arising' (AN II 48:4)

*brāhmaṇassa ce pi ijjheyya dhanena vā dhaññena vā rajatena
vā jātārūpena vā* 'if there were to be prosperity to a brahmin
in wealth or corn or silver or gold' (MN II 85:3)

*sakkā nu kho no bhante gamanena lokassa antaṃ ñātum vā
dātthum vā pāpūṇiṃ vā* 'is it possible by going to know
or to see or to reach the end of the world?' (AN II 48:1)

270. The number. In Pali there are two numbers: singular and
plural: *gacchāmi, gacchāma*

a). The verb is used in the singular or in the plural according
as the subject is in the singular or in the plural: *aham
gacchāmi, purisā gacchanti*.

b). The verb is in the plural when there are two or more
subjects joined together with or without the conjunction *ca*.

matā ca pitā ca puttā ca gāmaṃ gacchanti 'the mother and the father and the sons go to the village'

bhikkhavo bhikkhuniyo upāsaka upāsikā dhammam suṇanti 'the monks and the nuns, the male and the female lay disciples listen to the doctrine'

Sometimes the verb is made to agree with one subject, while the other subject is placed after the verb:

ahaṃ ca eva pūjito bhavissāmi saṅgho ca 'I indeed will be honoured and the saṅgha also' (MN III 253:11)

pamujjā c'eva bhavissati pīti ca passaddhi ca sampajaññaṃ ca 'there will be joy and happiness, tranquillity, attentiveness and clear consciousness' (DN I 196:11)

Sometimes, especially when the subject is made up of two or more singular neuter nouns, the verb is in the singular:

yattha nāmañca rūpañ ca asesam uparujjhati 'where name and form are fully destroyed' (SN I 13:24)

dārubhandam mattikabhandam nassati 'the wooden goods and the clay goods are lost' (VP II 211:12)

c). When two or more subjects are joined together with the particle *vā*, the verb agrees with the nearest subject:

mā taṃ Bodhisattam vā bodhisatta-mātaram vā manusso vā amanusso vā koci vā vihethesi 'neither a human being nor a non-human being, nor anyone else should do any harm to the Bodhisatta or to the Bodhisatta's mother' (DN II 12:23)

mā naṃ sītaṃ vā uṇhaṃ vā tinaṃ vā rajo vā ussavo vā bādhaṃ 'let neither cold nor heat, neither grass nor dust nor dew cause any harm to him' (DN II 89:27)

ahaṃ va hi samaṇassa gotamassa vadam aropeyyam dīghatapassī vā nigaṇṭho tvam vā 'either the Nigaṇṭha Dīghatapassī or you or I will get the better of the recluse Gotama' (MN I 375.8)

The verb, however, is sometimes found in the plural, though the nearest subject is in the singular. This happens chiefly when the verb precedes all the subjects and is thus referred to all of them

maṃ pi na dakkhanti devo vā devī vā aññe vā nātī-sālohitā 'will the king or the queen or my other relations not see me?' (DN II 26:14)

d). When the subject is a collective noun, the verb is in the singular:

atha kho mahājanakāyo upasankami 'then a great crowd of people drew near' (DN II 131:24)

assosi kho rājadhāniyā mahā-jana-kāyo caturāsīti-pāṇa-sahassāni 'a great crowd of people from the capital, i.e. eighty-four thousand living beings heard' (DN II 29:31)

When the collective noun is followed by an apposition indicating the number of beings that make up the collection, the verb is often made to agree with the apposition, especially when the verb follows the apposition in the plural:

atha kho so mahā-jana-kāyo caturāsīti-pāṇa-sahassāni pabbajitam anupabbajissu 'then a great crowd, i.e. eighty four thousand beings followed him into the wandering life' (DN II 30:8)

e). When the subject of the verb is a person of importance, the verb is sometimes used in the plural, and the subject, if expressed with a personal pronoun, is also used in the plural:

sace gahapati bhojanaṃ dātabbam detha 'well, O householder, if you wish to give food, give it' (MN II 64:17)

handā ca dāni mayam gacchāma, bahu kicchā manyam bahu karaṇiṇā 'well, we are going now since we have many duties and many things to do still' (DN II 76:4)

taṃ pi mayam abhivijaya ajjhavaseyyāma 'after defeating him, we will be at peace' (DN II 72:1)

sace hi mayam suneyyāma taṃ bhavantam Gotamam dasasu pi yojanesu dasa api mayam yojanāni gaccheyyama taṃ bhavantam Gotamam dassanāya 'if we were to hear that the reverend Gotama is ten yojanas far, we would go those ten yojanas to see the reverend Gotama' (MN II 162:26)

mā kho tumhe antima-puriso ahuvattha 'do not be the last man' (MN II 83:6)

In the last example the subject of the verb *tumhe* and the verb itself are in the plural, but the predicate is in the singular *antima-puriso*

Sometimes there is a transition from the plural to the singular and from the singular to the plural. One reason is that the plural of respect is used only in the nominative:

yato ca kho bho Udena parinibbuto so bhavam Gotamo, parinibbutam pi mayam taṃ bhavantam Gotamam saranam gacchāma dhammañ ca bhikkhusaṅghaṃ ca. Upāsakaṃ mam bhavam Udeno dharetu 'Though the reverend Gotamo has passed away, O Udena, we still go for refuge to the reverend Gotama who has passed away and to the doctrine and to the sangha. May the reverend Udena consider me as a lay disciple (MN II 163:3)

The plural of respect is used rather rarely and only when kings or brahmins speak or are spoken to. The Buddha usually speaks in the first person singular; when spoken to, he is addressed with a vocative like *bhante* and then the third person singular is used with words like *Bhagavā*, *Gotamo*, *bhavam Gotamo* as subject:

etu kho bhante Bhagavā, sāgataṃ Bhante Bhagavato, cirassam bhante bhagavā mam pariyāyam akāsi yadidaṃ idha āgamanāya. Nisidatu bhante Bhagavā 'Lord, may the Blessed one come; Lord, welcome to the Blessed One; for a long time the Blessed One did not take this course of coming this way. May the Blessed One sit down' (DN III 2:3)

f). The verbal forms *atthi* / *natthi* are sometimes found at the beginning of a sentence with a subject in the plural and also with a subject in the first or second person:

puttā m'atthi dhanam m'atthi 'I have sons, I have wealth' (Dpd 62)

atthi kho aññe ca pañca dhammā 'there are five other characteristics' (MN II 9:12)

natthi kanhasukkāni rūpāni, natthi kaphasukkānaṃ rūpānaṃ dassāvī 'there are no black or white objects, and there is nobody that sees black or white objects' (MN II 201:18)

atthi tvam etarahi na tvam natthi ... atthi aham etarahi nāham natthi 'are you existing now or is it not that you are not existing? ... am I existing now and is it not that I am not existing?' (DN I 200:18, 22).

Tenses and Moods

The tenses express the relation of time, i.e. either the duration of an action or its accomplishment. In the Pali Canon there are three simple tenses in common use: the present, the future and the aorist. The moods express a fact, or a command, or a wish, or a possibility. In Pali there are four moods: the indicative, the imperative, the optative and the conditional.

The Present Tense

271. a). The present tense is used in affirmative, negative, and interrogative sentences to express an action that takes place in the present:

ayaṃ me puggalo cittaṃ n'ārādheti 'this person does not win my favour' (MN I 341:16)

imesam catunnam puggalānam katamo te puggalo cittam āradheti
'of these four types of men, which one wins your favour?'
(MN I 341:13)

- b) The present tense is used in the direct speech to express an action that takes place at the same time as that of the main verb:

assosi mahājanakāyo Vipassī kira mīgadāye viharati 'the people heard that Vipassī was staying in the deer park (the people heard Vipassī is staying in the deer park)' (DN II 42:16)

- c). The present tense is used to express events that happen always in the same way, independently of time and space:

na hi verena verāni sammantidha kudācanam 'in this world hatred is never conquered with hatred' (Dpd 5)

dhammatā esā bhikkhave sattāha-jāte Bodhisatte Bodhisatta mātā kālam karoti 'it is in the nature of things, O monks, that the mother of the Bodhisatta accomplishes her allotted time seven days after the birth of the Bodhisatta' (DN II 14:3)

pāpo hi passati bhadram yāva pāpam na paccati 'an evil man may be successful so long as his evil action has not ripened' (Dpd 119)

- d). The present tense is sometimes used in the narrative style instead of the aorist, especially when the verb indicates an action that lasted for some time or an action that took place several times. The present tense seems to be the rule when the sentence begins with the adverbial expressions *ekam samayam*, *tena samayena*:

yadāham samma chāpo homi chamāyam nisiditvā imassa nigrodhassa aggam kurakam khādāmi 'when I was young, having sat down on the ground, I used to eat the topmost shoot of this banyan' (VP II 161:32)

ekam samayam Bhagavā Rājagahe viharati 'once the Blessed one was staying at Rajagaha' (DN I 47:2)

tena kho pana samayena sambahulā paribbajakā paribbajakārāme paṭivasanti 'at that same time many wanderers were staying at the Wanderers' park' (MN II 29:17)

tatra sudam Bhagavā Vesālīyā viharati 'at that time indeed the Blessed One was staying at Vesali' (Ud 25:29)

- e). The present tense is sometimes used to express the present past:

cirassam vata passāmi brāhmaṇam 'for a long time I have not seen the brahmin' (SN I 54:28)

abhūtavādī nirayam upeti yo cāpi katvā na karomi ti cāha 'to hell goes the liar and he who, after doing an action, says that he has not done it' (Dpd 306)

- f). The first person of the present is used to express an exhortation or a decision:

handa dāni mayam gacchāma 'well, now let us go'

handa āvuso mayam pi piṇḍapātikā homa 'well, sir, we also go round for alms' (Ud 30:28)

- g). Sometimes the present tense is used to express a future action:

etha tumhe, bhikkhave, samantā Vesālīm vassam upetha, aham pana idh'eva Beluva gāmake vassam upagacchāmi 'come, O monks; spend the rainy season in the neighbourhood of Vesali; I shall spend the rainy season in the village of Beluva' (DN II 98:26)

tādisam bhikkhum āsajja, Kanha, dukkham nigacchasi 'O Kanha, having hurt that monk, you will meet with suffering' (MN I 337:24)

- h). The present tense is also used, though rarely, in hypothetical sentences:

sace je saccam vadasi, a-dāsi bhavasi 'if you speak the truth, you are no longer a slave' (MN II 62:15)

sace bhikkhu-parisā Ānandam dassanāya upasaṅkamati dassanena
sā attamanā hoti 'if the monks come to see Ananda, they
will be happy on seeing him' (DN II 145:5)

The Imperative

- 272 a). The imperative is used to express a command, a request,
an invitation:

nikkhama, pāpīna, nikkhama, pāpīna 'get away, evil one, get
away, evil one' MN I 332:13)

tena hi bhikkhave suṇātha sādhukam manasikarotha bhāsissāmi
'well, then, O monks, listen and carefully pay attention and
I will speak' (DN II 2:11)

ehi tvam Ratthapāla bhuñja ca piva ca paricarehi ca ... abhīramassu
'come, O Ratthapala, eat and drink and gratify your senses
and enjoy yourself' (MN II 57:17)

- b). When the request or the invitation is addressed to a person
of authority and when it is made in a courteous and polite
way, the third person is used:

etu kho bhante Bhagavā 'come O Blessed One'

appasaddā bhonto honu 'please, be silent, reverend ones' (MN
II 2:4)

putto te deva jāto tam devo passatu 'a son has been born to
you, O king; may the king see him' (DN II 16:2)

- c). The imperative is used also to express a wish.

sabbe sattā bhavantu sukhātattā 'may all beings be happy' (Sn
145)

etena saccena suvatthī hotu 'by the power of this truth may
there be happiness' (Sn 224)

titthatu esā kathā yāya mayam etarahi kathaya sannisinā 'may
there be an end to this conversation on account of which
we are seated here' (MN II 2:10)

Sometimes the verb *titthatu/titthantu* is used in the sense of
with the exception of:

titthatu bhavam Gotamo, titthantu bhikkhū, titthantu bhikkhuniyo,
titthantu upasakā gihī odāta vasanā brahmacārino, titthantu
upāsikā gihī odāta vasanā brahmacāriniyo, atthi pana bho
Gotamassa ekupasikā pi sāvikā gihī odata vasanā kāmabhoginī
. satthu sāsane viharati 'with the exception of the reverend
Gotama, with the exception of the monks, with the excep-
tion of the nuns, with the exception of the householders
lay devotees, who clad in white garments, practise the
celibate life, with the exception of the female lay devotees,
who, clad in white garments, practice the celibate life, is
there even one female lay disciple of the Blessed One who
as a follower and clad in white garments and enjoying
sensual pleasure yet abides in the doctrine of the teacher?'
(MN I 491:22).

The Aorist

273. a) The aorist is used in affirmative, negative, and inter-
rogative sentences to express an action that took place
in the past:

evam vutte te paribbajakā tunhi ahesum 'after these words the
wanderers remained silent' (DN I 179:12)

idaṃ avoca āyasmā Sariputto; attamanā te bhikkhū āyasmato
Sāriputtassa bhāsitaṃ abhinandum 'the reverend Sariputta
said this; the monks were pleased and praised the words
of Sariputta' (MN I 191:35).

The aorist is generally used when the sentence begins with the
particles *atha kho, tatra kho*.

atha kho Bhagavā Savatthim pindāya pāvīsi 'then the Blessed
One entered Savatthi for alms' (DN I 178:6)

atha kho Bhagavato etad ahosi 'then this occurred to the Blessed One'

tatra kho Bhagavā bhikkhū amantesi 'thereafter the Blessed One addressed the monks' (MN II 214.2)

b). The aorist is used with the negative *mā* to express prohibition

alam, Ānanda, mā soci mā peridevi 'enough, O Ananda, do not grieve and do not weep' (DN II 144:10)

Tisse sikkhassu sikkhāya mā tam yogā upaccagum 'O Tissa, insist on your training lest the attachments should overcome you' (Theri 4)

In Sanskrit the rule is that when the aorist is preceded by the negative *mā*, the aorist does not take the augment. In Pali this rule is not always observed

mā cintayā 'don't worry'

mā'yasmā saddam akāsi 'reverend one, do not make noise' (MN II 5:1)

The Future

274. a). The future tense is used in affirmative, negative and interrogative sentences to express an action that will take place in the future:

idh'eva me maranam bhavissati pabbājā vā 'here itself death will befall me unless I go forth' (MN II 57:26)

kim tvam imam dhammavinayam ājānissasi 'will you learn the doctrine and the discipline?' MN II 3.25)

yena Nalanda tenupasankamissāma 'we shall go to Nalanda' (DN II 81:30)

b). Sometimes the future is used in the sense of what must be or must not be, of what can be or cannot be:

na vata imāni manussabhūtaṣṣa padāni bhavissanti 'these cannot be the footprints of a human being' (AN II 37:29)

na kho idam orakam bhavissati yathā ime manussa sakkaccam navakammam karonti 'now this can be no ordinary matter inasmuch as these people are making repairs carefully' (VP II 159:30)

aññā vā saññā bhavissati añño attā 'consciousness must be one thing and the self another' (DN I 186.5)

c). The future is used in sentences beginning with *kuto pana*, *yatra hi nāma*, *atthi nāma*, *katham hi nāma*. *Kuto pana* is preceded by a negative sentence; *yatra hi nāma* is usually preceded by an expression of wonder like *acchariyam vata*, *abbhūtam vata*:

daharassa hi kumārassa kāyo ti pi na hoti; kuto pana kāyena pāpakam kammam karissati 'a little child has no idea what the body is; how then will he commit an evil action with the body?' (MN II 24:25)

acchariyam vata bho abbhūtam vata bho yatra hi nāma ayaṃ kesesu parāmasitabbam maññissati 'it is strange, it is beyond belief that he should dare to take him by the hair' (MN II 47:28)

atthi nāma ābhidosikam kummāsam paribhunjissasi 'is it true that you are eating stale rice?' (MN II 62:24)

katham hi nāma samaṇā Sakyaputtiyā bhattagge na anumodissanti 'how can these recluses, sons of Sakya, not give thanks in the dining room (i.e. after a meal)' (VP II 212:10)

d). The future is often used in correlative sentences that express a future action and are introduced with the particles *tāva* ... *yāva*, *tathā* ... *yathā*

na tāva aham parinibbāyissāmi yava me bhikkhū na sāvaka bhavissanti 'I will not pass away so long as my monks have not become disciples' (DN II 104:18)

svāham bhante tathā karissāmi yatha maṃ mātapitaro anujānissanti
 'Sir, I shall act in such a way that my parents will give
 the consent' MN II 56.19)

e). The future is also used in hypothetical sentences:

sace tumhe Ratthapālam kulaputtam nānujānissatha agāasmā
anagāriyam pabbajaya tatth'eva maranam āgamissati 'if
 you do not give your consent to the young Ratthapala to
 go forth from the home to the homeless life, death will
 overtake him where he is now' (MN II 60.1)

The Optative

275. In Pali the forms of the optative which are generally used
 are those built up like *bhaveyyāmi*, *bhaveyyāsi*, *bhaveyyāti*, etc.,
 Forms like *kayirā*, *dajjā*, *labhe* etc. are usually found in poetry.

a). The optative is used to express a wish:

iccheyyātha no tumhe Nimi-rājānam daṭṭhum 'would you like
 to see king Nimi? (MN II 79:8)

labheyyāham bhante Bhagavato santike pabbajam labheyyam
upasampadam 'Sir, may I receive the lower and higher
 ordination from the Blessed One' (DN I 202:28)

b). The optative is used to express a command or merely fitness
 of what one would or might do in certain circumstances:

yena me idam kalyāṇam vattam nibitam anuppavatteyyāsi 'you
 ought to continue this beautiful tradition started by me'
 (MN II 77.17)

jāgaro bhikkhu vihareyya 'a monk ought to dwell awake' (Itv
 4.6)

kin ti nam kareyyāsi ti ... āhareyy'assaham 'what would you
 do to him? I would take it out of him' (MN I 395:3) 243

The optative of *jānāti* is often used with *yagghe*:

yagghe ayye jāneyyasi ayyaputto Ratthapālo anupatto 'do you
 know, lady, that master Ratthapala has come back?' (MN
 II 127:25)

c). The optative is used to express possibility or probability.
 Usually such a sentence is introduced with the optative
 verbal form *siyā* or with *api eva nāma*, *tam kim maññasi*,
thānam vijjati:

siyā nu kho, bhante, Bhagavatā aññadeva kiñci sandhāya bhāsītam
tañ ca jano aññathā pi paccāgaccheyya 'it may be that
 people might understand differently what the Blessed One
 said with reference to something else' (MN II 127:25)

appeva nāma mayaṃ kadāci karahaci tena bhotā Gotamena saddhim
samāgaccheyyāma: appeva nāma siyā kocid eva kathāsallāpo
 'it may be that sometimes somewhere we might meet the
 reverend Gotama; it may be that we might have a talk'
 (MN II 140:26)

taṃ kim maññasi, mahārāja? Idha khattiyo sandhim chindeyya
 'what do you think, O king, if a ksatriya were to break
 into a house' (MN II 88:6)

aṭṭhānam etam bhikkhu anavakāso yaṃ Sāriputta-moggallānā
Devadattassa dhammaṃ roceyyum 'it is impossible, O
 monks, it cannot come to pass that Sariputta and Moggallana
 should embrace the doctrine of Devadatta' (VP II 199:28)

d). The optative is used to express a supposition with *yan nūna*
 and to express a simile with *seyyathāpi*:

yan nūnāham imam samaṇam jīvītā voropeyyam 'what if I were
 to kill this recluse? (MN II 99:4)

seyyathāpi nāma balavā puriso sammāññitam vā bāham pasāreyya
pasaritam vā bāham sammāññeyya 'just as a strong man
 might stretch forth a bent arm or might bend down an
 outstretched arm' (MN II 79:12)

e). In correlative clauses, the optative is used in both of them:

yathā te khameyya tatha tam vyakareyyasi 'answer as you like'
(MN II 94.12)

*yadā me, samma kappaka, passeyyasi sirasmim phalitāni jātāni,
atha me āroceyyasi* 'O barber, you should inform me when
you see a white hair on my head' (MN II 75:4)

- f). The optative is used in hypothetical sentences and also in replies to hypothetical sentences. The hypothetical sentences are introduced by *sace, ce, yadi, yam*:

*sace pi mayam suṇeyyāma tam Bhagavantam dasasu yojanesu
dasa pi mayam yojanāni gaccheyyāma tam Bhavantam dassanāya*
'if we were to hear that the Blessed One is at a distance
of ten yojanas, we would go all the ten yojana to see the
Blessed One' (MN II 90.18)

*sace pana tam Angulimālam passeyyāsi ... kin ti kareyyāsi ti?
Abhivandeyyāma vā, bhante, paccuttheyyāma vā āsanena vā
nimanteyyāma* 'if you were to see Angulimāla, how would
you treat him? Sir, I would greet him and I would rise
before him and I would invite him to sit' (MN II 101:12)

The Conditional

276. The conditional is very seldom used. It expresses a condition that has not been realized or that cannot be realized.

sace Pessa muhuttam nisideyya mahatā atthena samyutto agamissa
'if Pessa had remained sitting a little longer, he might have
gone away in the acquisition of a great attainment' (MN
I 342:13)

*no ce tam abhavissa ajatam abhūtam ... nayidha jātassa bhūtaṣṣa
nissaraṇam paññāyetha* 'if there were not something that
is not born and not become ... there would appear no escape
from what is born and from what has become' (Itv 37:6)

Indefinite Verbal Forms

The indefinite verbal forms in Pali are the present, past and future participle, the past gerund, and the infinitive.

Present Participle

277. a). The present participle is an adjective; hence it agrees in gender, number and case with the noun it qualifies:

addasa kho paribbājako bhagavantam dūrato āgacchantam 'the
wanderer saw the Blessed One coming from afar' (MN II
2:2)

There are, however, some stray cases in which the present participle is used in the singular as if it were an indeclinable form:

*api pana tumhe āyasmanto ekanta-sukham lokam jānam passam
vihāratha* 'do you perhaps abide knowing and visualizing
a perfectly happy world?' (DN I 122.19)

*naṅgalehi kasaṃ khettaṃ bījāni pavapam chamā puttadārāni
posentā dhanam vindanti mānavā* 'ploughing the fields
with ploughs, scattering seed on the ground, young men
support wives and children and enjoy wealth' (Therī 112)

*nakkhattāni namassantā, aggin paricaram vane, yathābhuccam
ajānantā, bālā suddham amaññatha* 'O foolish people, pay-
ing homage to the stars, worshipping the fire in the forest,
not knowing the real truth, you do not attain to purity'
(Therī 143)

- b). The active and the passive present participles have their respective active and passive meaning: *desento* 'preaching', *desiyamāno* 'being preached'.

The middle present participle is often formed from verbs which are middle in Sanskrit: *vattati* (Skt *vartate*) has *vattamano*.

Sometimes the present participle middle seems to point out the continuation of an action while the present participle active merely points out the fact that an action takes place:

visamapākīni sassani manussā paribhuñjantā appāyuka honti 'men who eat crops ripened at the wrong season, are short lived' (AN II 75:12)

gunṇaṃ ce taramānānaṃ jinham gacchati puṇḍavo 'if, while the herd of cattle is crossing, the bull swerves' (AN II 75:33)

In poetry the use of the present participle active or middle is often due to the exigencies of metre. Thus in the AN pp. 39 and 40, in the prose passage we find the present participle active, while in the poetical passage we find the present participle middle and yet the meaning is the same: *viharantaṃ* / *vihamāno*:

yatvādhikaraṇaṃ enaṃ cakkhundriyaṃ asaṃvutaṃ viharantaṃ abhijjhādomanassā anvassaveyyuṃ 'since covetousness and dejection might overcome the person that abides with the faculty of the eye unrestrained' (AN II 39:24)

evaṃ vihamāno pi ahorattaṃ atandito 'abiding thus unwearied day and night' (AN II 40:29)

c). Sometimes we find in a sentence the same verb in the present participle middle and in a finite form. The present participle expresses a supposition which, if verified, ought to be verified as expressed by the finite verb:

iti vā hi bhikkhave puthujjano tathāgatassa vanṇaṃ vadamāno vadeyya 'O monks, if an ordinary man were to speak the praises of the Tathagata, he ought to speak them thus' (DN I 4:3)

kittāvatā ca Ānanda attānaṃ samanupassamāno samanupassati 'O Ananda, if a person were to regard the self, in what way should he regard it?' (DN II 68:5)

ekadhammo loke uppajjamāno uppajjati bahu jana hitāya 'if a single doctrine arises in the world, it arises for the welfare of many people' (Itv 11:18)

d). The present participle expresses an action contemporaneous with that of the main verb:

addasāsum āyasmantaṃ pindāya carantaṃ 'they saw the reverend one going round for aims' (MN I 338:32)

e). The present participle is sometimes used as the verb of a sentence either alone or in periphrastic formations with *atthi*, *tiṭṭhati*, *carati*, *viharati*, *gacchati*

upasaṅkamantā kho amū sappurisā yena āyasmā sārīputto tena dhammasavanāya 'those good men came to the reverend Sariputta to hear the doctrine' (MN I 212:20)

atha kho āyasmā Ānando vihāraṃ pavisitvā ... rodamāno atṭhāsi 'then the reverend Ananda entered the monastery and burst into tears' (DN II 143:20)

te aññāññaṃ mukha sattihi vitudentā viharanti 'they keep on attacking each other with piercing words' (Ud 67:23)

bhikkhuno anuttaraṃ yogakkhemam patthayamānassa viharato 'for the monk who abides seeking the highest peace' (Itv 9:12)

Sometimes we find together the two participles *santa*, *samvijjamāna*:
cattaro' me puggalā santo samvijjamānā lokasmin 'in the world four kinds of people are found' (MN I 453:5)

f). The present participle with the particle *pi* corresponds to a concessive clause:

evaṃ pi ahaṃ karonto 'though I act in this way'.

g). For the use of the present participle in an absolute construction, see no. 266.

The Past Participle

278. The past participle may have

- a. active meaning
- b. passive meaning
- c. both active and passive meaning

a). **Active meaning.** The past participle of intransitive verbs has an active meaning:

ekam antam nisinno kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantam etad avoca 'after sitting on one side, the reverend Ananda spoke thus to the Blessed One' (MN III 104:5)

Vipassī rājadhānīm anuppatto miga-dāye viharati 'Vipassī, after reaching the capital, was abiding in the park of the deer' (DN II 44:8)

samaṇo khalu bho Gotamo mahantaṃ ātisaṅgham ohāya pabbajito 'the recluse Gotama, after abandoning a great number of relatives, became a wanderer' (DN I 141:24)

b). **Passive meaning.** The past participle of transitive verbs has a passive meaning:

iti putṭho no ti vadeyya 'being thus questioned, he would answer no' (MN II 33:10)

vuttaṃ hetam Bhagavatā vuttaṃ Arahataṃ ti me sutam 'for this was said by the Blessed One, this was said by the Arahant, thus has been heard by me' (Itv 3:1)

c). **Active and passive meaning.** The past participles of verbs which govern an accusative of place or time, and, generally, the past participle also of the verbs which become transitive by the addition of a verbal prefix like *ati*, *adhi*, *anu*, *abhi*, *upa*, *pari*, can be used both in the active and in the passive meaning:

te ve pāram gatā loka ye pattā āsavakkhayam 'those who have gone to the other shore in the world, have reached the destruction of the defiling tendencies' (Itv 96:9)

gataddhino visokassa ... pariāho na vijjati 'there is no fever of passion in him by whom the journey has been completed and in him who is free from sorrow' (Dpd 90)

Ratthapalo anuppatto 'Ratthapala has arrived' (MN II 62:14)

idha bhikkhu araham hoti ... anuppattasadattho 'herein a monk is an arahant and one by whom the highest good has been attained' (Itv 38:17)

N.B. The participles *vijāta*, *nahāta* have always an active meaning:

puttaṃ vijātā itthi 'the woman who has given birth to a child'.

sīsaṃ nahāto 'he has washed his head'.

The past participle of *vasati* is *vusita*, *vuttha*, *vuṭṭha*. *Vusita* is used in the passive meaning, while *vuttha*, *vuṭṭha* are used both in the active and in the passive meaning:

khīṇa jāti vuttaṃ brahmacariyaṃ 'birth has been destroyed, the celibate life has been lived' (MN II 252:4)

bhikkhu Rājagahe vassaṃ vuṭṭho 'the monks who has spent the rainy season at Rajagaha' (MN II 185:1)

satta vassāni me vutthāni 'seven years have been spent by me' (Ud 17:28)

Several past participles, which usually have a passive meaning, are sometimes found in the active meaning:

so kālam kato 'he has completed his time'.

ayaṃ pana puriso kim kato 'what has this man done?' (DN II 25:3)

Tathāgato ... indriyesu gutta-dvāro 'the Tathagata is one by whom the gates of the senses have been guarded' (passive) (DN I 181:4)

so attagutto satimā 'he who guards his self and is mindful' (active) (Dpd 379)

279. **Usage.** The past participle may be used alone or in a compound. When used alone, the past participle may do the work of an adjective, or a noun, or it may take the place of the verb of the sentence. The past participle can also be used to form dvanda, kammadhāraya, tappurisa and bahubhihi samāsa.

280. **The past participle as an adjective.** The past participle may be used as an adjective qualifying a noun or pronoun either attributively or predicatively, and agreeing with it in gender, number, and case.

atha kho āyasmā Vidhuro bhinnena sisena Bhagavantam piṭṭhito piṭṭhito anubandhi 'then the reverend Vidhura, with a broken head, followed the Blessed One step by step' (MN I 336:35)

Sākiyakumārā Bhagavantam pabbajitam anupabbajanti 'the Sakya young men go forth in imitation of the Blessed One who has already gone forth' (VP II 180:3)

samaṇo Gotamo suci bhūtena attanā viharati 'recluse Gotama abides with with a self that has become pure' (DN I 4.5)

In general, such adjectival participles express an action anterior to the action expressed by the finite verb of the sentence: *Bhagavantam pabbajitam anupabbajanti* 'they went forth after the example of the Blessed One who had already gone forth'. There are however some participles which denote a continuous action, i.e. an action that is contemporaneous with that of the finite verb or with that of a present participle. Such participles are *ṭhita* 'standing', *nisinna* 'sitting down', *nipanna* 'lying down'.

ekam antam ṭhito paribbājako Bhagavantam etad avoca 'standing on one side, the wanderer spoke thus to the Blessed One' (MN I 339:8)

caram vā yadi vā tiṭṭham nisinnō vā 'whether moving or standing or sitting' (MN I 178:35)

tam nāgam passati ... gacchantam vā ṭhitam vā nisinnam vā nipannam vā 'he sees the elephant whether moving or standing or sitting or lying down' (MN II 31:9)

281. **Past participle as a noun.** The past participle is sometimes used as a neuter noun to denote: a). either the action of the verb; b). or the effect of the action of the verb, without any reference to time. Thus *dinnam* may mean giving or the thing given.

When the past participle is used to indicate the action of the verb, it governs the same case which the verb ordinarily governs

coro Angulimālo nāma hoti luddo lohitapāṇi hata-pahate niviṭṭho 'there is a thief called Angulimala, fierce and with blood-stained hands, bent on killing and slaughtering' (MN II 97:23)

icchāmi bhikkhūnam āgataṃ 'I desire the coming of the monks' (VP I 142:10)

natthi Buddhānam iñjitam 'there is no wavering for the Buddhas' (Dpd 255)

abhikkama āvuso abhikkantaṃ te seyyo 'go forward, O brother; going forward is better for you' (DN III 20:7)

mayham eva dinnam mahapphalam 'what is given to me indeed is greatly fruitful' (MN I 379:25)

atthi ajātam abhutaṃ akataṃ asaṅkhatam 'there is something not born, not become, not made, not compounded' (Itv 37:5)

282. **The past participle as verb of the sentence.** The past participle may be used as the verb of a sentence either alone or with an

auxiliary verb. In such cases the participle is an adjective and agrees with the subject in gender, number and case.

- a). The participle used **alone** denotes an **ordinary past tense**. This usage is almost exclusively restricted to the past participles of intransitive verbs:

ayam kho no bhante antarā kathā vipakata ātha Bhagavā anupatto
'Sir, this chance conversation was interrupted when the Blessed One arrived' (DN II 2:3)

- b). The past participle, **alone**, or sometimes with the auxiliary *atthi*, is used to express the **present past**:

imasmim yena kho bhadda-kappe aham etarahi araham sammā-sambuddho loke uppanno 'in this blessed time, now I have been born in the world as the arahat and the fully Enlightened One' (DN II 2:26)

anuññāto si pana tvam mātāpitūhi agārasnā anagāriyam pabbajjāya
'have you been allowed by your parents to go forth from the home into the homeless state?' (MN II 56:13)

paranibbuto kho etarahi so Bhagavā 'the Blessed One has now passed away' (MN II 90:16)

- c). The past participle with *hoti* indicates an action that happens always in the same way:

yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchim okkanto hoti na Bodhisatta-mātu purisesu mānasam uppajjati 'when the Bodhisatta descends into the womb of the mother, no desire for men arises in the mother of the Bodhisatta' (DN II 13:3)

idha bhikkhu santuttho hoti 'here a monk is satisfied' (AN II 27:19)

- c). The past participle is sometimes used periphrastically with the various forms of the auxiliary verbs *atthi*, *bhavati*, *hoti*

so evam pabbajito samāno bhikkhūnam sikkhāsājavāsamāpanno pānātipātā pahāya pānātipātā pativirato ahoṣim 'having gone forth and following the system of training of the monks, giving up killing living beings, I abstained from killing living beings' (MN III 33:18)

evāyam bhūmippadeso dvihi arahantehi paribhutto bhavissati
'this spot will have been used by two arahats' (MN II 45:21)

yo so putto uppanno siyā 'whichever son might be born' (MN II 153:15)

- d). Sometimes the past participle is used in the neuter as an impersonal verb:

na kho ācīṇṇam Nigaṇṭhassa Nātaputtassa kammam kammam ti paññāpetum 'it is not customary for the Nigantha Nataputta to speak of an action as an action' (MN I 372:10)

evam eva Dighatapassinā Nigaṇṭhena samaṇassa Gotamassa byākatam
'just in the same way it was answered by the Nigantha Dighatapassi to the recluse Gotama' (MN I 374:9)

283. Past participle in compounds.

- a). **Dvanda Samāsa**. Two participles are sometimes used to form a dvanda samāsa. The two participles may express two actions that are always mentioned together, or the second participle may emphasize the meaning of the first or may be the negative of the first, or the second participle may express an action that follows immediately after the first. Sometimes the same participle is repeated to express an action that is repeated more than once, or to express the same action in a high degree.

hata-pahate nivṛttho 'bent on killing and slaughtering'.

subhāsita-dubbhāsita 'well and badly spoken'

ākōṭita-paccākōṭita 'flattened and pressed all round'

suta-jāto 'heard and appeared i.e. it was manifest as soon as it was heard'

dittha-sutam 'what is seen and heard'

gopanasīyo olugga-viluggā 'beams breaking and falling into bits'

uppann-uppanne pāpake dhamme 'whenever an evil doctrine arises'.

upasant-upasanto 'very tranquil'

b). **Kammadhāraya samāsa.** The past participle that is used as an adjective to qualify a noun, can form a kammadhāraya samāsa with the noun:

mata-sariram 'a dead body'

bhinna-pattam 'a broken bowl'

āgatamha imam dhammasamayam dakkhitāye aparajita-sangham 'we have come to this meeting to witness the undefeated sangha' (SN I 26:24)

The past participle can also form a kammadhāraya samāsa with an adverb qualifying it :

sammā-sambuddho 'the fully Enlightened one'

acira-pakkantassa 'not long after he had gone away'

yathābhīrantam 'according to one's pleasure'

c). **Tappurisa samāsa.** A past participle can be used as the second member to form a tappurisa samāsa:

āyasmā pana araṇṇa-gato pi rukkhamula-gato pi 'the reverend one has gone to the forest and he has gone to the foot of a tree' (MN I 333:17)

sīla-sampanno 'endowed with virtue'

dvihamato 'two days dead'

chamā-nikkhattam 'thrown on the ground'

When the participle is used as a noun, it can be either the first or the second member of a tappurisa samāsa:

suta-dharo 'remembering what has been heard'

khīṭa-saddo 'the sound of expectoration'

kāya-duccaritam 'an evil action committed with the body'.

d). **Bahubbīhi samāsa.** The past participle of transitive verbs and of some intransitive verbs that govern an accusative can be used as the first member of a bahubbīhi samāsa:

idha puriso āgaccheyya ukkhittāsiko 'if a man were to come with drawn sword' (MN I 377:20)

addasā Vipassī purisaṃ jinṇaṃ gata-yobbanam 'Vipassī saw a man that was old and that had gone beyond his youth' (Sn 98)

e). **Syntactical compounds.** A past participle is sometimes joined to the gerund of another verb to form a compound. This is due to the fact that those two verbs have very often come together and thus have acquired a special meaning: *uddissa-kata* 'done pointing to, meant for'; *paṭicca-samuppanna* 'arisen on account of i.e. of the law of cause and effect'.

Future Participle Passive

284. **Meaning.** The future participle passive or future of necessity or gerundive is used to express the idea of necessity, obligation, fitness.

atthi kho pana amhehi sakkatabbā garukātabbā mānetabbā pūjetabbā 'guests ought to be well received by us and be treated with respect, honour and deference' (MN II 167:28)

imassa pana bhasitassa katham attho dāṭṭhabbo 'how should the meaning of these words be understood?' (MN II 69:14)

idam te khāditabbam idam te na khāditabbam 'you ought to eat this and you ought not eat that' (MN I 460:27)

pano na hantabbo adinnam nādātabbam kāmesu micchā na caritabbā musā na bhāsītabbā majjam na pātabbam 'a living being should not be killed, what has not been given should not be taken, infatuation for pleasures should not be practised, lies should not be spoken, intoxicating drinks should not be drunk' (MN II 173:4)

285. Usage. The future participle passive can be used as an adjective, a noun, and as the verb of the sentence.

- a). Adjective. The future participle passive may be used as an attributive or predicative adjective agreeing in gender, number and case with the noun it qualifies:

svakkhāto Bhagavatā dhammo sandīṭṭhiko akāliko ehipassiko opanayiko paccattam vedītabbo viññūhi 'well preached by the Blessed One is the doctrine that can be seen in this very life, and that is not bound by time, and that invites everyone to come and see, and that leads forward, and that is to be understood by the wise personally' (AN II 56:15)

ayam vuccati ariya sāvako ... bhabbo abhinibbhīdāya bhabbo sambodhāya bhabbo anuttarassa yogakkhemassa adhigamāya 'this is called a noble disciple, the one who is capable of breaking the fetters, capable of attaining enlightenment, capable of attaining the highest tranquillity' (MN I 357:3)

Several future participle passive in *-anīya* like *ramanīya*, *dassanīya*, have become ordinary adjectives and have almost entirely lost their original meaning of a future participle; thus *ramanīyo padeso* means 'a lovely spot'.

- b). Noun. The future participle passive is used also as a noun in the neuter gender to indicate the effect of the action of the verb:

pure vacanīyam pacchā avoca, pacchā vacanīyam pure avoca 'you said afterwards what should have been said before, and said before what should have been said afterwards' (MN II 3:25)

anumaññeyyam kho aham anujānissāmi, paṭikkosītabbam ca paṭikkosissāmi 'I shall approve what should be approved, and I shall blame what should be blamed' (MN II 158:30)

kāya viññeyyam phoṭṭhabbam 'what has to be known by the body must be tangible' (MN III 55:24)

Sometimes the future participle passive is used as a masculine or feminine noun to denote the person that is worthy of the action expressed by the verb:

idha ekacco abhivādetabbam na abhivādeti paccutṭhātabbam na paccutṭheti āsanārahassa āsanam na deti maggārahassa maggam na deti sakkātabbam na sakkaroti garukātabbam na garukaroti mānetabbam na māneti pūjetabbam na pūjeti 'herein a person does not greet one that should be greeted, does not rise before one that deserves such a mark of respect, does not offer a seat to one that deserves such a seat, does not make room for one that is worthy of it, does not receive well and treat with respect and honour and deference one that is worthy of hospitality and respect and honour and deference' (MN III 205:16)

Some future passive participles have almost lost their character and have become ordinary neuter nouns; v.g. *khajja bhojja* 'solid and other food', *dheyyo* 'realm of, power of', *kicca, karaniya* 'duty, service'.

- c). Verb. The future participle passive is very often used as the verb of a sentence, usually alone, but sometimes with the auxiliary verb *atthi/hoti*:

kāyassa bheda param maranā duggatī paṭikankhā 'at the breaking up of the body after death, an evil existence is to be expected' (Itv 23:6)

n'amhi kenaci upasankamītabbo 'I must not be approached by anyone' (DN II 237)

gamanena na pattabbo lokassanto kudācanam 'the end of the world can never be reached by going' (AN II 49 1)

286. **Construction.** The construction of the future participle passive depends generally on the nature of the verb, i.e. whether it is transitive or intransitive.

- a). **Transitive verbs.** The future participle passive of transitive verbs is usually constructed personally with the subject in the nominative:

Tathāgatassa thūpo kātabbo 'a stupa ought to be built for the Tathagata' (DN II 142:10)

sace, gahapati, bhojanam dātabbam detha 'O householder, if you have to give food, give it' (MN II 64:17)

saṅgho āpetabbo 'the order ought to be informed' (MN II 250:7)

Intransitive verbs which have become transitive on account of being compounded with a prefix, are used both in the personal and the impersonal construction:

theratarena bhikkhunā navakataro bhikkhu nāmena samudācaritabbo 'a young monk should be addressed by name by an elder monk' (DN II 154:10)

evaṃ Tathāgatassa sarire paṭipajjitabbam 'you ought to deal thus with the body of the Tathagata' (DN II 142:9)

- b). **Intransitive verbs.** The future participle passive of intransitive verbs is usually constructed impersonally:

na dāni tena cīram jīvītabbam bhavissati 'now he ought not to live any longer' (DN II 23:8)

tehi bhikkhūhi sabbehi eva samaggehi sannipatitabbam 'all those monks should assemble in a friendly way' (MN II 247:12)

The future participle passive *bhabbo/abhabbo* and the future participle passive of intransitive verbs that govern an accusative of place or time, are often constructed personally:

pamade bhayadassino abhabbā parihānāya 'those who see danger in sloth, cannot fall away' (Itv 40:4)

tehi bhikkhūhi so āvāso gantabbo 'the monks ought to go to that dwelling place' (MN II 247:21)

The verb *maññati* is very often followed by a future participle passive. If the verb is intransitive, the future participle passive is used impersonally. The transitive verb is sometimes used in the neuter singular in a kind of impersonal construction, but with the object in the accusative:

appeva nāma appasaddam parisam viditvā upasankamitabbam maññeyya 'on seeing that the assembly is silent, he might think of coming' (MN II 2:7)

yena nesam upagatānaṃ piṇḍakaṃ dātabbam maññeyyāsi 'you should think of giving food to those who come' (MN I 379:17)

yo kho imāni cattāri dhammapadāni garahitabbam paṭikkositabbam maññeyya 'if one were to think of despising and scorning these four precepts' (AN II 31:4)

sammā Sambuddhe āsādetabbam maññasi 'you think that insult should be heaped on the fully Enlightened one' (DN III 24:22)

The Infinitive

287. a). The infinitive denotes the idea of the verb without any indication of time.

nadiṃ gamissāma sināyitum 'we shall go to the river to bathe' (MN II 46:21)

- b). The infinitive retains its verbal character in so far as it governs the same case as the finite verb:

icchāmi aham agārasmā anagāriyam pabbajitum 'I desire to go forth from the home to the homeless life' (MN II 56:9)

- c). The agent of the action expressed by the infinitive is generally the same as that of the action expressed by the finite verb of the sentence.

samuddam visakumbhena yo maññeyya padusitum 'if one should think of defiling the sea with a jar of poison' (Itv 86:13)

When the expression that governs an infinitive is impersonal and when the agent of the action expressed by the infinitive is different from the agent of the action of the finite verb of the sentence, then the agent of the action of the infinitive is expressed with the instrumental

sakkā pan'etaṃ mayā ñātum 'is it possible for me to know this?' (DN I 187:11)

yaṃ te sakkā aññam mayā kātum tyāham karissāmi 'whatever else I can do for you, that I will do' (VP II 182:1)

anujānāmi therena bhikkhunā anumoditum 'I allow that thanks be given by an elder monk in the dining room' (VP II 212:19)

- d). Sometimes the infinitive with its object forms a phrase that is used as the subject of an impersonal construction like it is fitting, it is right, it is possible. In English the whole sentence may be rendered with a passive verb with the object of the infinitive as subject:

sakkā bhoge ca bhuñjitum puññāni ca kātum 'it is possible to enjoy wealth and to acquire merit' (MN II 63:24)

sakkā nu kho no gamanena lokassa antaṃ ñātum vā datthum vā pāpunītum vā 'is it possible for us to go and to know the end of the world and to see it and to reach it?' (AN II 48:1)

- e). The infinitive is used to express purpose, intention, goal:
- upasaṅkamissāma gattani parisīñcitum* 'we shall come to bathe' (MN II 161:4)

samaṇassa vā brāhmaṇassa va sappiṣṣa va telassa vā yāvadattham pātum diyaṃ no nīharitum 'to a recluse or brahmin is given as much ghee or butter as he can drink, but not to take it away' (Ud 14:1)

- f). The infinitive is often used with verbs like *atthi*, *hoti*, *labhati*, *sakkoti*, *arahati*, *icchatī*, *pahoti*, *jānāti*, *anujānāti*, *kappati*, *vattati*, etc.

tādino attho n'atthi jaṇam lapetave 'for such a person there is no need to speak to people' (Ud 21:13)

ko taṃ ninditum arahati 'who can possibly blame him?' (AN II 29:2)

icchāmi'ahaṃ rājagahaṃ gantum 'I desire to go to Rajagaha' (MN II 5:6)

pindapātiko bhikkhu pindāya caranto labhati kālena kālaṃ manāpīke cakkhunā rūpe passitum 'when a monk goes round for alms, from time to time he happens to see with his eye beautiful objects' (Ud 30:22)

so na ussahati agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajitum 'he does not try to go forth from the home to the homeless life' (VP II 181:29)

- g). The infinitive is used with adjectives meaning capable, fit, good for, etc.

bhabbo so tādiso bhikkhu phutthum sambodhūṃ uttamam 'such a monk is capable of attaining the highest enlightenment' (Itv 72:11)

- h). The infinitive is used with nouns indicating time, occasion, etc.

akalo kho ajja Bhagavato vadaṃ āropetum 'today is not the time to start an argument with the Blessed One' (MN I 393:18)

- i). The infinitive is used with *alam*. In these expressions *alam* means sufficient, suitable, fitting, capable:

nālaṃ tad abhinanditum 'it is not fitting to take delight in it' (Itv 37:18)

tatra upāyavimamsāya samannāgato alaṃ kātuṃ alaṃ samvidhātuṃ 'he is endowed with skill and resourcefulness to know what should be done and what should be planned' (AN II 35:25)

j). The infinitive is used with adverbs like *sakkā*, *labbhā*, *atippago*:

kiṃ mayā sakkā kātuṃ 'what should I do? (Ud 44:3)

sakkā nu kho imaṃ kālaṃ taṃ Bhagavantam dassanāya upasankamituṃ 'is it possible to come at this time to see the Blessed One?' (VP II 155:25)

atippago kho tēva Rājagāhe piṇḍāya carituṃ 'is it still too early to go round for alms in Rajagaha?' (MN II 1:18)

na heso labbhā sapariggahena phassetuṃ yo kevalo bhikkhu dhammo 'a man with possessions cannot live the full life of a monk' (Sn 393)

k). The infinitive, without the final nasal consonant, is often compounded with *kāmo*:

idha puriso agaccheyya Rājagāham gantukamo 'here there might come a man who is desirous to go to Rajagaha' (MN II 5:4)

atha kho yakko Bhagavato bhayaṃ uppadetukamo yena Bhagavā tena upasankami 'then a yakkha, desirous to frighten the Blessed One, came up to him' (Ud 5:2)

The Gerund

288. a). The gerund generally indicates an action anterior to that of the verb to which it is subordinated:

Nigaṇṭho aññataraṃ āsanam gahetvā ekaṃ antam nisīdi 'the Nigantha took another seat and sat down at one side' (MN I 372:5)

upasankamtvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi 'having come up, he addressed the reverend Ananda' (DN II 137:11)

There are cases in which some gerunds indicate actions that precede the action of the main verb and some gerunds indicate actions that follow that of the main verb.

atha kho Bhagavā kumbhakārāvesanam pavisitvā ekaṃ antam tiṇasantharakam paññāpetvā nisīdi pallankam ābhujitvā ujum kāyam pañidhāya parimukham satim upatthāpetvā 'then the Blessed One, having entered the potter's workshop, having spread a mat of grass on one side, sat down assuming a cross-legged posture, keeping his body straight, keeping his mindfulness alert' (MN III 238:10)

b). Generally the gerund is subordinated to a finite verbal form, but there are also cases where it is subordinated to an indefinite verbal form:

tadā gātham vatvā pakkanto paṇḍitavāṇijo ahaṃ ahosi 'I was the learned merchant who went away after reciting the stanza'

c). The agent of the action expressed by the gerund is the same as the agent of the finite verb which is in the nominative case when the verb is active, in the instrumental or genitive case when the verb is passive, and in the dative case with expressions like *etad ahosi*, *uppajjati*:

atha kho bhagavā pubbanha-samayam nivāsetvā, patta-cīvaram ādāya, Sāvattihim piṇḍāya pāvīsī 'then the Blessed One dressed in the morning, took his bowl and robe, and entered Savatthi for alms' (DN I 178:7)

āvāsikena bhikkhunā āgantukam bhikkhum vuddhataraṃ disvā āsanam paññāpetabbam 'a resident monk, on seeing a senior visiting monk, should offer him a seat' (VP II 210:23)

disvāna assa etad ahosi 'on seeing them, this occurred to him' (AN II 37:27)

- d). When the gerund and the finite verb have the same object, there is no need of repeating it:

lekhanam likhivā pesesi 'he wrote a letter and sent it'

- e). The gerund is generally used to express a temporal phrase. Sometimes we find a series of past gerunds expressing several actions that take place one after another:

disvāna etad avoca 'he said this after seeing them'.

so kesamassuṃ ohāretva kasāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyam pabbajati 'after shaving his hair and beard and donning the yellow robes, he goes forth from the home to the homeless state' (MN II 67:3)

disvāna gharā nikkhamivā paccugantvā hatthato pattam gahetvā gharam pavasivā ghaṭṭiyā odanam uddharivā pattam pūretvā āyasmato mahā-kassapassa pādāsi 'on seeing him he stepped out of the house, went out to meet him, took the bowl from his hand, entered the house, took rice from the jar, filled the bowl and gave it to the reverend Maha-Kassapa' (Ud 22:26)

Instead of piling up many phrases with the gerund, there are several coordinated clauses in such a way that the finite verb of a clause is taken up in the next clause in the gerund:

Nigantho yena Bhagavā tena upasankami, upasankamivā bhagavatā sammodi, sammodanīyam katham sārānīyam vītisāretvā ekaṃ antam atthāsi 'the Nigantha came up to the Blessed One; after coming up, he greeted the Blessed One; after exchanging greetings of friendliness and courtesy, he stood on one side' (MN I 371:28)

The gerund is also used to express a concessive, a causative and even a hypothetical phrase. In the concessive meaning, it is usually followed by *api/pi*:

sangham samaggam katvana kappam saggamhi modati 'by fostering concord among the monks, he rejoices in heaven for an age' (Itv 12:12)

mam hi aññatitthiyā sāvakaṃ labhivā kevalakappam Nālandam paṭākam parihareyyuṃ 'if those of other schools had obtained me as their disciple, they would have carried a flag throughout the whole of Nalanda' (MN I 379 8)

289. The gerund is used periphrastically with verbs like *viharati, jīvati, carati, vattati, tiṭṭhati, gaṇhāti, gacchati, āneti*. Sometimes the finite verb adds very little to the meaning of the gerund, though naturally it expresses the time when the action takes place: *kinivā āneti* 'having bought it, he brings it'. In most cases, however, the gerund with a finite verb forming a periphrastic expression, indicates the duration of an action:

ekaṃ disaṃ pharivā viharati 'he abides suffusing one quarter'

jhānaṃ upasampajja vihāsi 'he abode in the attainment of a trance'

mam mittāmaccā parivāretvā (hi) honti 'my friends and companions are round me' (MN II 70:7)

ahaṃ hi pubbe hatthim pi dhāvantaṃ anupativā gaṇhāmi 'formerly I could overtake even a running elephant' (MN II 99:11)

290. a). The gerund *katvā* is used with the accusative neuter of an adjective to form adverbial expressions:

dalham katvā 'strongly'

The gerund *huvā* is used in the sense of as

ahaṃ puriso huvā 'I, being a man i.e. I as a man'

- b) The gerund of some verbs like *ādāya, gahetvā, anvāya, upādāya, paṭicca, āgamma, muñcitvā, thapetvā, ārabha, upanissāya*, etc. is used as a postposition. Such gerunds govern the accusative case with the exception of *paṭṭhāya* which governs the ablative case:

daharakālato paṭṭhaya 'from his childhood'

kim etaṃ paṭicca vuttam 'on account of what was this said?' (MN I 361:2)

nagaram nissāya vasi 'he lived near the town'

- c). Sometimes the gerund is used as the first member of a samāsa

tam samano Gotamo jānam uddissa-katam mamsam paribhuñjati paṭicca-kammam 'the recluse Gotama knowingly eats meat prepared for him and deliberately provided for him' (MN I 369:2)

anuvicca-karo tumhādisānam ñāta manussānam sādhu hoti 'it is good to make a full investigation of well known people like you' (MN I 379:3)

Agent Nouns

291. Pali makes great use of agent nouns. Such are the nouns formed with the suffixes *-tar*, *-ka*, *-in*, *-vin*. Furthermore there are monosyllabic agent nouns which are used only as second member of a samāsa: *-da*, *-ga*, *-gu*, *-ñu*, etc.

sotā 'he who hears'; *bhāsītā* 'he who speaks'; *vādin* 'he who says'; *kārin* 'he who does'; *lābhīn* 'he who obtains'; *dassāvin* 'he who sees'; *pāra-gū* 'he who has gone to the other shore'; *matta-ññu* 'he who knows moderation'.

To these agent nouns may be added the past participles active like *sutavā* 'he who has heard', *katāvī* 'he who has done', *bhuttāvī* 'he who has eaten', *vusitavā* 'he who has lived'.

292. The agent nouns are used

- a) as ordinary nouns:

Tathāgato datṭharam na maññati sotaram na maññati 'the Tathagata does not pay much attention to the seer and to the hearer' (i.e. to the one who sees and to the one who hears) (AN II 25:14)

tam lobham pajahanti vipassino 'those who have insight give up the craving' (Itv I:12)

saggam gacchanti dāyakā 'the givers go to heaven' (Itv 19:16)

bhojanamhi mattaññu sukham adhigacchati 'he who is moderate in food attains happiness' (Itv 24:12)

- b) as an apposition to a noun or pronoun:

etha tumhe asubhānupassī kāye viharatha, āhāre patikkūla-saññino 'come and do ye abide paying attention to what is unpleasant in the body and conscious of what is revolting in the food' (MN I 333:25)

aham asmi brahmā kattā nimmatā 'I am Brahma, the maker and creator' (DN I 18:8)

ayam samano nisinnako kālakato 'this recluse died while he was sitting down' (MN I 333:25)

- c) as the verb of a sentence, either alone or with the auxiliary *hoti/atthi*:

catunnam jhānānam nikāma-lābhī hoti akiccha-lābhī akasira-lābhī 'he easily and without any difficulty and without any trouble attains the four trances' (AN II 36:12)

na tāva therena udakam patiggahetabbam yāva na sabbe bhuttāvino honti 'an elder should not accept water until everyone has eaten' (VP II 214:27)

samaṇa Gotamo ito sutvā na amutra akkhātā imesam bhedāya amutra vā sutvā na imesam akkhātā amūsam bhedāya 'the recluse Gotama does not repeat in another place what he hears here in order to put discord with these people, and what he hears in another place he does not repeat to these people to create discord with those people' (DN I 4:18)

293. The agent noun may govern

- a). either the genitive, since it is a noun, or the same case which is governed by the finite forms of the same verb

mātāpitaro puttānam āpādakā posakā imassa lokassa dassetāro 'the parents bring up and support their children and introduce them to the world' (AN II 70:22)

adantānaṃ dametāraṃ sambuddhaṃ passa 'look at the Enlightened One, the tamer of those who are not tamed' (Therī 337)

aho vata ahaṃ eva lābhī assaṃ paṇitaṃ cīvarānaṃ 'I wish I could be the receiver of excellent robes' (MN I 29:35)

satimā kho pana hoti cīrakatam pi cīrabhāsitaṃ pi saritā 'he is indeed mindful and remembers what was done long ago and what was said long ago' (AN II 35:23)

na so mitto yo sadā randhaṃ evānupassī 'he is not a friend who always looks at faults' (Sn 253)

dhammaṃ na vitthārena paresaṃ desetā hoti 'he preaches the doctrine to others but not in detail' (MN I 221:18)

abhiñāṇamaham imam pañhaṃ aññe samaṇa brāhmaṇe pucchitā 'I remember that I asked this question from other recluses and brahmins' (DN I 51:23)

ahosiṃ ahaṃ hatthisiṃ pi katāvī assasiṃ pi katāvī 'I was expert in riding elephants and horses' (MN II 69:11)

b). The agent noun is often compounded with the noun it governs to form a tappurisa samāsa:

bhikkhu sīlavā hoti anumattesu vajjesu bhayadassāvī 'a monk is virtuous and sees danger even in the least fault' (AN II 22:31)

parāvajjānupassinō niccaṃ ujjhānasaññino āsavā vaḍḍhanti 'when a person has his eyes on the faults of others and is always complaining, the defilements keep growing'. (Dpd 243).

Action Nouns

294. Pali makes still greater use of action nouns since almost any English subordinate clause can be expressed by means of action nouns. The more common suffixes that form action nouns are -na, -a, -nā, -taṃ, -tā, -ti, -tta: *dassana* 'seeing', *bheda* 'division', *āgamitā* 'returning', *thiti* 'permanence'.

The action nouns denote the verbal idea in general without any reference to person or time: *dassana* 'seeing'.

The action noun, like any other noun, takes the case required by its syntactical function:

ahaṃ vo pātubhogo anāgamitāya 'I guarantee that you will not come back (Itv 1:5)

kāyassa bheda 'at the breaking up of the body'

295. The action noun usually governs the genitive case:

sukhassa ca pahānā dukkhassa ca pahānā pubbe ca somanassa-domanassānaṃ atthagamā 'by eliminating happiness and by eliminating sorrow and by the coming to an end of the former comfort and discomfort' (MN I 347:20)

Mallā Bhagavato adbhivāsanaṃ viditvā 'the Mallas, having known the endurance of the Blessed One' (DN III 208.5)

yesam kho ahaṃ āsavānaṃ appahinattā devo bhaveyyam 'I might have become a deity if I had not rejected those defiling tendencies' AN II 38:25)

dassanāya governs both the genitive and the accusative. The use of the accusative seems to be preferable when this denotes a person or object deserving respect:

sammā-sambuddhaṃ dassanāya upasankamissāma 'we shall come to see the fully Enlightened one' (MN II 46:7)

te deve dassanāya pi nappahonti 'they are not able to see the gods' (MN II 131:29)

akālo kho tāva Bhagavantam dassanaya ... bhikkhunam asamayo dassanāya 'it is not yet time to see the Blessed One and it is not yet time to see the monks' (MN II 23.4)

(N.B. both the accusative and the genitive are found in this expression: *Bhagavantam* and *bhikkhūnam*).

CHAPTER XXI

SYNTAX OF THE SENTENCE

A sentence or clause is a group of words with a finite verb and with a complete meaning. The finite verb is sometimes understood. Within a clause there may be groups of words with indefinite verbal forms: such groups are called phrases.

296. **Affirmative statements.** Clauses that state a fact are expressed with a simple verb in the present, past or future tense, or also with a periphrastic verb. The forms of the verbs *hoti/atthu* are often understood, especially where there is a past participle or an agent noun:

satthā āyasmante āmanteti 'the master calls you' (Ud 26:2)

sabbe tasanti dandassa sabbe bhāyanti maccuno 'all are afraid of punishment, all fear death' (Dpd 129)

Vipassissa Bhandumā nāma rājā pitā ahosi 'king Bhanduma was the father of Vipassi' (DN II 6:30)

etassa Bhagavā kālo 'O Blessed one, this is the right time for it' (DN II 11:3)

parinibbuto kho etarahi so Bhagavā 'the Blessed One has now passed away' MN II 90:16)

Very often these clauses are introduced by adverbs or adverbial expressions of time and place like *tadā, tattha, bhūtapubbam, ekam samayam, tena samayena, atha kho*, etc.. Some adverbial particles are enclitic, i.e. they have no accent of their own and hence they may never be used at the beginning of a sentence. Such particles are *bho, pana, hi, pi, kira, eva, va*

ekam samayam Bhagavā Cālikāyam viharati ... tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Meghiyo Bhagavato upatthāko hoti 'once the Blessed One was staying at Calika. Now at that time the reverend Meghiya was waiting on the Blessed One. (Ud 34:1)

N.B. Regarding the use of the tenses, see nos. 280, 282, 283.

297. **Negative sentences.** A sentence is made negative by means of the particle *na*

n'atthi me dhanam 'I have no wealth'

na dānāham Bhagavantam uddissa viharissāmi 'now I will not abide under the guidance of the Blessed One' (DN III 2:24)

Sometimes the negation is added to the verb or to the predicate in the form of *a- / an-*, according as the following word begins with a consonant or with a vowel:

akālo kho tāva Bhagavantam dassanāya 'it is not the right time to see the Blessed One' (MN II 23:4)

chāyā anapāyini 'the shadow that never departs' (MN II 135:24)

When the negation must be emphasized, some particles are added to *na*. *na pi / nāpi, n'eva, na kho, n'eva na pana* 'not indeed'; *na no* 'surely not'; *na hi* 'certainly not'; *na jātu* 'not at all'; *na hi kudācanam* 'never indeed'; *kuto / kutopana* 'still less'. *kuto / kuto pana* are used after a negative clause and themselves govern a verb in the future tense:

na hi verena verani sammantidha kudācanam 'hatreds are never appeased by hatreds in the world' (Dpd 5)

natthi soko kuto bhayam 'there is no grief, still less fear' (Dpd 212)

no hi etam Bhante 'Lord, it is not so' (DN I 184:39)

298. **Command, request, exhortation.** To express a positive command, a request or an exhortation, the imperative is generally used:

tena hi bhikkhave suṇātha sādhuṇaṃ manasikarotha bhāsissāmi 'well then, O monks, listen and pay good attention and I shall speak' (DN II 2:11)

yojehi sammā sarathī bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni 'good charioteer, harness the best chariots' (DN II 21:16)

so evaṃ āha: ettakā usabhā haññantu yaññatthāya 'he spoke thus, so many bulls must be slaughtered for the sacrifice' (MN I 344:4)

To express an exhortation, the optative is very often used, while to indicate that something may or ought to be done, the future participle passive is used:

dhammam care sucaritam 'one should lead a righteous life' (lead a righteous life) (Dpd 169)

tvam mattam mattañca bhuttam bhujeyyāsi mattam mattañca pāṇiyam piveyyāsi 'eat just what is necessary and drink just what is necessary' (DN III 8:3)

atthi pañho ekamsa-vyākaraṇiyo, atthi pañho paṭipucchā-vyākaraṇiyo, atthi pañho ṭhapaniyo, atthi pañho vibhajja-vyākaraṇiyo 'there is the question that ought to be answered straight, and the question that ought to be answered after a counter-question, and the question that ought to be set aside, and the question that ought to be answered with a distinction' (AN II 46:5)

299. **Prohibition.** A prohibition is generally expressed with the particle *mā* followed by the aorist:

mā saddaṃ akattha 'do not make noise' (MN II 2:4)

māvoca pharusam kañci 'never speak harsh words' (Dpd 133)
*ma Tathāgataṃ vihesi mā Tathāgata-sāvakaṃ mā te ahosi digharattam
 ahitāya dukkhāya* 'do not hurt the Tathagata nor the disciple
 of the Tathagata lest it should redound to your disadvantage
 and sorrow for a long time' (MN I 332:18)

The particle *mā* is sometimes found also with the optative and the imperative

mā pamādaṃ anuyuñjetha 'one should not indulge in sloth (i.e. do not indulge in sloth) (Dpd 27)

*jhāya bhikkhu mā ca pamādo - mā te kāmagaṇe bhamassu
 cittaṃ; mā lohagulaṃ gili pamatto - mā kandi dukkhaṃ
 idaṃ ti dayhamāno* 'meditate, O monk, and do not be
 heedless; let not your mind stray towards sensual pleasures;
 in your indolence do not swallow a lead-ball; while you
 are burning do not cry saying, - this is sorrow' (Dpd 371)

(notice the use of both the aorist and the imperative due to exigencies of metre)

Prohibition is also expressed with the negative *na* and the future participle passive:

na vo mama santike vattabbaṃ 'do not stand before me' (Ud 25:12)

300. **Desiderative clauses.** The optative is used in clauses that express a desire or a possibility:

labheyyāhaṃ Bhagavato santike pabbajjaṃ labheyyaṃ upasampadam
 'may I receive the lower and the higher ordination from
 the Blessed One' (MN I 391:22)

A desiderative clause often begins with the particles *sādhū*, *aho vata*.

sādhū bhante bhikkhū yāvajīvaṃ ārañṇakā assu 'Lord, it is
 good if the monks were to live in the forest till the end
 of their life' (VP II 197:14)

aho vata aññepi sattā itthattam āgaccheyyūṃ 'it is good if the
 other beings were to return to this kind of life' (DN I 19:31)

Here we have to classify also the clauses that begin with *yannuna*, *app'eva nāma* and have the verb in the optative:

yaṃ nūnāhaṃ na ceteyyaṃ na abhisankhareyyaṃ 'what if I were
 not to think or to plan?' (DN I 184:21)

appeva nāma upasankamitabbaṃ maññeyya 'it may be that he
 thinks of coming here' (DN I 179:10)

301. **Possibility.** The notion of possibility is expressed with the optative:

*idha assa nigaṇṭho abādhiko sitodaka paṭikkhitto uñhodaka paṭisevi
 so sitodakaṃ alabhamāno kālaṃ kareyya* 'if there were to
 be a nigaṇṭha, who, although not ill, were to refuse cold
 water and ask for hot water, he might die withon getting
 even cold water' (MN I 376:23)

*puthujjano pi hi taṃ vācaṃ bhāseyya yā sā vācā paresaṃ appiṇṇā
 amanāpā* 'even an ordinary man can say a word which
 is not pleasant and agreeable to others' (MN I 392:27 265)

While the possibility is expressed with the optative preceded by *siyā*, *thānaṃ vijjati*, the impossibility is expressed with *atthānaṃ vijjati*, *atthānaṃ yaṃ*:

siyā kho pana te evaṃ assa 'this might have occurred to you'
 (MN II 54:16)

*siyā nu kho bhante Bhagavatā aññadeva kiñci sandhāya bhāsitaṃ
 tañca jano aññathāpi paccāgaccheyya* 'reverend Sir it may
 happen that a person may understand differently what you
 have said with reference to something else' (VP II 127 25)

*atthānaṃ kho etaṃ anavakāso yaṃ Upālī samanassa Gotamassa
 sāvakattam upagaccheyya; thānaṃ ca kho etaṃ vijjati yaṃ
 samaṇo Gotamo Upalissa sāvakattam upagaccheyya* 'it is
 not possible that Upālī should become a disciple of the

recluse Gotama, but it is possible for the recluse Gotama to become a disciple of Upali' (MN I 380:33)

302 Interrogative clauses.

- a). Interrogative clauses may have their verb in the present, aorist or future of the indicative and in the optative, or they may have a participle or an agent noun with or without an auxiliary verb:

taṃ kiṃ maññasi 'what do you think of this? (MN I 366:5)

kiṃ tvam imam dhammavinayaṃ ajānissasi 'will you understand this doctrine and discipline?' (MN II 3:25)

ahu pana te nigaṇṭhena saddhūṃ kocideva kathā-sallāpo 'did you have any conversation with the Nigaṇṭha?' MN I 376:5)

iccheyyātha no tumhe mārisā Nimi rājānam daṭṭhum 'would you like, friends, to see king Nimi?' (MN II 79:7)

- b). The interrogation is expressed by means of interrogative pronouns or pronominal adjectives or adverbs like *ko*, *kā*, *kiṃ*, *katara*, *katama*, *kati*, *kīdisa*, *kīva*, *kīvatika*, *kīvanta*, *kittaka*, *kadā*, *kathā*, *kaham*, *katham*, *kacci*, *kīvam*, *kittāvatā*, *kuto*, *kuhim*, *kuttha*, *kva* etc.

kho nu kho hetu ko paccayo Bhagavato sīssa pātukammāya 'what is the reason, what is the cause for the Blessed One to smile?' (MN II 45:4)

kiṃ bhavaṃ Raṭṭhapālo ñatvā vā disvā vā sutvā vā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito 'what did the reverend Ratthapala come to know or see or hear that he went forth from the home to the homeless life?' (MN II 66:26)

katamo so paramo vanno 'which is the highest clan?' (MN II 40:9)

kathaṇ ca ariyasavako sīlasampanno hoti 'how is a noble disciple endowed with virtue?' MN I 355:1)

kacci āvuso Bhagavā arogo ca balavā ca 'brother, is the Blessed One in good health and full of vigour?' (MN II 185:5)

kittāvatā nukho bho Gotama brāhmaṇo hoti katame ca pana brāhmaṇa-kārakā dhammā 'in what way, reverend Gotama, is one a brahmin and what are the factors that constitute one a brahmin?' (Ud 3:16) 266

- c). The interrogation is also expressed with interrogative particles like *nu*, *pana*, *api*, *api nu*, *nūna*, *nu kho*, *aṅga pana*:

api nu me sāvakā evaṃ jānantā evaṃ passantā antarantarākathaṃ opāteyyum 'would my disciples interrupt an occasional conversation when they have such a knowledge and such a realization' (MN II 10:8)

yagghe ayye jāneyyāsi ayya putto Raṭṭhapālo anuppatto 'lady, do you know that the noble Ratthapala has come?' (MN II 62:13)

satiñā nu kho paṭhamam uppajjati 'does consciousness arise for the first time?' (DN I 185:21)

kiṃ pana atthi ekanta sukho loko 'what, is there a world that is fully happy?' (MN II 36:31)

- d). The interrogation is sometimes expressed by placing at the beginning of the sentence the verb followed by the subject:

anuññato'si pana tvam mātāpitūhi agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāya 'have you been allowed by your parents to go forth from the home to the homeless life?' (MN II 56:13)

atthi nu te añño koci mayā upaṭṭhakataro 'is there anyone who is a better attendant to you' (MN II 51:4)

- e). Sometimes the interrogation is expressed with the phrases *saccam kira*, *atthi nāma*.

saccam kira tvam sambahulānam bhikkhūnam evaṃ ārocesi 'is it true that you have spoken thus to many monks?' (Ud 22:10)

atthi nāma ābhidosikam kummāsam paribhuñjissasi 'is it possible that you are eating stale rice?' (MN II 62:24)

f). When an affirmative reply is expected, generally the interrogation begins with one of the following *saccam kira, kacci, nanu*

kacci tāta Ambattha addasa taṃ bhavantam Gotamaṃ ti. Addasāma kho mayam bho taṃ bhavantam Gotamaṃ 'well, dear Ambattha, did you see the reverend Gotama? Yes, sir, we saw the reverend Gotama' (DN I 106:33)

nanu tvam sālavatikam ajjhāvasi ti; evaṃ bho Gotama 'did you not live at Salavatika? Yes, reverend Gotama' (DN I 227:17)

saccam kira te evarūpaṃ pāpakam diṭṭhigataṃ uppannam ... evaṃ bho Gotama 'is it not true that you hold such an evil doctrine? Yes, reverend Gotama' (DN I 227:8)

303. Co-ordinative clauses. Two or more clauses are joined together either by the mere fact that they follow each other or by means of the particle *ca* inserted after the first word of each sentence. Very often in the predicate we find a number of synonyms piled together without any conjunction:

agga'ham asmi lokassa jetṭho'ham asmi lokassa seṭṭho'ham asmi lokassa ayaṃ antime jāti n'atthi dāni punabbhavo 'I am the first in the world, I am the foremost in the world, I am the best in the world, this is the last birth, there is no more becoming' (DN II 15:10)

brahmadatto mānava aneka pariyāyena Buddhassa vannaṃ bhāsati dhammassa vannaṃ bhāsati saṅghassa vannaṃ bhāsati 'the young Brahmadatta in different ways speaks the praises of the Buddha, speaks the praises of the doctrine, speaks the praises of the sangha' (DN I 1:13)

imā ca me saññā nirujjheyyaṃ aññā ca olārikā saññā uppajjeyyaṃ 'these perceptions of mine would pass away and other coarse perceptions might arise' (MN I 185:2)

ayaṃ ca dasa sahaṣṣī lokadhātu sankampati sampakampati sampavedhati 'this ten thousand world sphere shakes and quakes and trembles' (DN II 15:25)

tatra sudam Brahmā homi Mahābrahmā abhibhū anabhibhūto aññad-atthu-daso vasavattī 'there indeed I was Brahma, the great Brahma, conqueror, unconquered, seeing everything, wielding all power' (Itv 16 9)

When the subject of two or more consecutive clauses is the same and the various verbs express actions that follow each other, then either only the last verb is used as finite while the other verbs are placed in the gerund, or the finite verb of a preceding clause is taken up in the gerund followed by a finite verb which itself is then placed in the gerund with another finite verb. For this see no. 296e

304. Disjunctive clauses. Disjunctive clauses are joined together with the particles *vā ... vā, yadi ... yadi*, and, if they are negative, with *n'eva ... n'eva, n'eva ... na pi, na h'eva ... no pi, vā no vā, vā mā vā, na ... vā ... vā*

so neva sakkuneyya uggilituṃ neva sakkuneyya ogilituṃ 'he would be able neither to spit it out nor to swallow it down' (MN I 393:8)

na samāno Gotamo brāhmaṇe abhivādeti vā paccutṭheti vā āsanena vā nimanteti 'the recluse Gotama neither greets the brahmins nor rises before them nor does he offer a seat for them' (AN II 22:9)

Not only clauses but also phrases and words may be joined in the same way:

mā kāsi papakam kammam āvi vā yadi vā raho 'do not do any evil action whether openly or secretly' (Therī 247)

dussilo yam yadeva parisam upasankamati yadi khattiya-parisaṃ yadi brāhmaṇa-parisaṃ yadi samaṇa-parisaṃ avisārado upasankamati 'an evil man to whichever assembly he goes, whether it be of ksatriyas or of brahmins or of recluses, he goes full of diffidence' (DN II 85:22)

305. **Adversative clauses.** Adversative clauses are introduced by the words *kuto pana* 'still less', *pageva* 'still more', *aññadatthu* 'except':

atha kho āyasmā Ratthapalo n'eva dānaṃ alattha na paccakkhānaṃ aññadatthu akkosam eva alattha 'the reverend Ratthapala received neither alms nor a refusal but only contempt' (MN II 62:1)

daharassa pi kumārassa kāyo ti pi na hoti kuto pana kāyena pāpakam kammam karissati 'the child is not aware of his body, how then can he commit an evil action with his body' (MN II 24:25)

Sometimes in the adversative clause the verb is not repeated: *so ce adhammaṃ carati pageva itarā pajā* 'if he lives wrongly, how much more do so other people' (AN II 75:36)

nābhijānāmi Nakulamātaraṃ gahapatāniṃ manasā pi aticaritā kuto pana kāyena 'I do not remember that I have been unfaithful to the lady mother of Nakula in mind, still less in body' (AN II 61:24)

306. **Clauses of comparison.**

a). When a comparison is instituted, the first clause is introduced with *seyyathāpi* which generally governs the optative, though the indicative is also found. The second member of the comparison is introduced with *evam eva*:

seyyathāpi pi nikujjitam vā ukkujjeyya, patichannaṃ vā vivareyya evam eva Bhagavatā aneka-pariyāyena dhammo pākasito 'just as one might set up what has fallen down or might uncover what is covered up ... so has the doctrine been preached by the Blessed One in many ways' (MN I 391:16)

seyyathāpi puriso sakamhā gāmā aññaṃ gāmaṃ gaccheyya, tamhā pi gāmā aññaṃ gāmaṃ gaccheyya, so tamhā gāmā sakam yeva gāmaṃ paccagaccheyya ... evam eva kho akkhātā mayā sāvakanam paṭipadā 'just as a man might go from

his village to another village, and from that village also might go to another, and then finally from that village return to his own village ... in the same way I have pointed out the way of life to my disciples' (MN II 20:27)

seyyathāpi rājā khattiyo muddāvasitto nihito-paccāmitto na kuto ci bhayaṃ samanupassati yadidaṃ paccatthikato, evaṃ eva kho bhikkhu evam sīla-sampanno na kuto ci bhayaṃ samanupassati yadidaṃ sīla-samvarato 'just as a ksatriya king who has been duly crowned and who has overcome his enemies, does not perceive any danger from anywhere, i.e. in so far as enemies are concerned; in the same way a monk, who is thus virtuous, does not perceive any danger from anywhere, i.e. in so far as the restraint of the precepts is concerned' (DN I 181:19)

b). Sometimes the comparison is made with the correlative adverbs: *yathā ... tathā, yathā ... evam, yathā yathā .. tathā tathā*.

selo yathā ekaghano vātena na samīrati evam nindā-pasamsāsu na samīñjanti paṇḍitā 'as a solid rock is not shaken by the wind, even so the wise are not ruffled by praise and blame' (Dpd 81)

yathā bubbulakam passe yathā passe marīcikam evam lokam avekkhantaṃ maccurājā na passati 'the king of death does not see the man who looks upon the world just as one would look upon a bubble and just as one would look upon a mirage' (Dpd 170)

c). Often a strong dissimilarity is expressed by repeating the interrogative pronoun before each phrase or clause:

ke ca chhave sigāle ke pana sihanāde 'what comparison can there be between the mooing of a miserable deer and the roaring of a lion?' (DN III 25:3)

ke ca muṇḍakā samaṇakā ibbhā kinhā bandupadāpaccā kā ca tevijjānaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ sākacchā 'what discussion can

there be between shaven menial dark recluses born from the feet of Brahma and the Brahmins learned in the three-fold knowledge? (DN I 103:16)

N.B. The ending in -e of the nominative case in the first example is a Magadhim. The comparison is made between some living beings and the actions of others. Literally the translation is: *which is the miserable deer and which the roaring of the lion? who are the shaven recluses who are black and born from the feet of Brahma and which is the discussion of the learned Brahmins?*

- d). Sometimes the second term of comparison is expressed with a bahubbhihi samāsa ending in upamā:

kumbhūpamaṃ kāyaṃ imaṃ viditvā nagarūpamaṃ cittaṃ idaṃ tthapetvā yodetha māraṃ paññāvudhena 'realizing that this body is as fragile as a jar and making his mind firm like a fortress, one should attack Mara with the weapon of knowledge' (Dpd 40).

- e). When the comparison points out the superiority of one being or thing over another, then the first sentence or phrase has the word *seyyo* while the second sentence or phrase is introduced with the particles *no*, *natu eva* and a participle or with *yañ ce* and the optative.

abhikkantaṃ te seyyo no paṭikkantaṃ 'better for you to go forward than to go backward' (VP II 156:6)

seyyo amitto matiyā upeto natveva mitto mati-vippahīno 'a wise enemy is better than a foolish friend' (Ja I 247:43)

sangāme me matam seyyo yañ ce jīve parājito 'it is better for me to die in war than to live defeated' (Sn 440)

seyyo ayogulo gutto tatto aggisikhupamo yañ ce bhuñjeyya dussilo raṭṭhapādam asaṇṇato 'it were better for an evil man to swallow a ball of red-hot iron rather than he should eat offerings of food given by good people' (Dpd 308)

sahassam api ce vācā anattapadasaṇhita ekaṃ atthapadam seyyo 'better than a thousand useless words is one single word that brings welfare' (Dpd 100)

garahā vā seyyo viññūhi yañ ce bālappasamsā 'to be blamed by the wise is better than to be praised by the fools' (Therī 668)

307. **Direct and indirect speech.** In the language of the Pali Canon the direct speech is continually used to express the words or the thoughts of a person. These words or thoughts are expressed by means of an independent clause followed by the particle *ti*. It is to be noted that it is nearly always *ti* and not *iti* that is used:

pāpaṃ me katan ti tappatī 'he suffers thinking - evil has been done by me' (Dpd 17)

ayaṃ sikkhā ti Bhagavā avoca 'the Blessed one said, thus in the training' (DN I 182:3)

evam p'ahaṃ kammadāyādā sattā ti vadāmi 'thus do I declare beings are heirs to their own deeds' (MN I 390:3)

The real indirect speech is also found. It is expressed by a noun or pronoun and a participle agreeing with it and both forming the object of the verb of the main clause:

addasā Bhagavantam dūrato āgacchantam 'he saw that the Blessed One was coming from afar'

saṅgā saṅgāmajjīṃ muttam taṃ ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ 'I call him a brahmin who is free from attachments' (Ud 6:10)

tassa ime pañca nīvaraṇe pahīne attani samanupassuto pīṇuḍḍhaṃ jāyati 'joy arises in him who sees that the five hindrances have been eliminated from his own self' (DN I 182:12)

In the older books the indirect speech is often expressed by means of a bahubbhihi or a tappurisa samāsa:

disvā vijitasangamaṃ 'seeing that he is victorious' (Itv 76:1)

āhu bhikkhum anāsavam 'they say that such a monk is without defiling tendencies' (Itv 97:18)

āhu sabbappahāyīnam 'they say that he is one who has left behind everything' (Itv 97:22)

308. **Conditional clauses.** A conditional clause is one that expresses or contains a condition; v.g. if you listen. Depending on this condition something else follows; you will understand. The clause that contains the condition is called the protasis; the main clause which contains the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of the condition, is called apodosis. The protasis is introduced with *sace*, *ce*, *yadi*, *yam*. The particle *ce* is enclitic and hence cannot be used at the beginning of a sentence.

There are three kinds of conditional clauses in which.

I). the protasis contains a simple condition and the apodosis contains the consequence of that condition: if you listen, you will understand;

II). the protasis contains a possibility and the apodosis contains the consequence of that possibility: if you were to listen, you would understand;

III). the protasis contains a possibility that was not verified in the past or is not verified in the present, and the apodosis contains the consequence of that possibility: if you had listened, you would have understood.

I). When the conditional clauses express a simple condition and its consequence, the verbs of the protasis and of the apodosis are usually in the present indicative, but they can be also in the future and, perhaps even in the aorist, though so far I have not found any such example. Further the verb of the apodosis can also be in the imperative. Either in the protasis or in the apodosis even the future participle passive is found. Finally the forms of the verbs *as-*, *bhu-* are sometimes understood

sace ca so pabbajati agārā anagāriyam sambuddho bhavati 'if he goes forth from the home to the homeless state, he will become fully enlightened. (Sn 1903) Present + present.

sace je saccaṃ vadasi, a-dāsi bhavasi 'if you speak the truth, you are no longer a slave' (MN II 62:15) Present + present.

sace so anujānāti vihara bhante yathāsukhaṃ 'if he allows it, abide here, sir, as long as you like' (MN III 237:26) Present + imperative.

sace ākaṅkhasi nisīda 'if you like, sit down' (MN I 359:26) Present + imperative)

sace bhavaṃ Govindo agārasmā anagāriyam pabbajissati aham pi agārasmā anagāriyam pabbajissāmi 'if the reverend Govinda will go forth from the home to the homeless life, I also shall go forth from the home to the homeless life' (DN II 244:12) Future + future.

sace ākaṅkatha bhuñjatha, sace tumhe na bhuñjissatha idhaññhaṃ appaharite chaḍḍessāmi 'if you wish, eat; if you will not eat, I shall now throw it on the ground where there is little grass' (MN I 13:4) both present and future.

sace āyasmato Channassa natthi sappayāni bhesajjāni, aham āyasmato Channassa sappayāni bhesajjani pariyojanissāmi 'if the reverend Channa has not the proper medicines then I will procure the proper medicines for the reverend Channa' (MN III 264:15) Present + future.

imañ ce aham angārakāsum papatissāmi tato nidānam maraṇam vā nigacchāmi maraṇamattam vā dukkhaṃ 'if I fall into this burning pit, then I shall meet with death or with a suffering as great as death' (MN I 365:23) Future + present.

sace me pana anumoditabbam anumodatu me bhavaṃ Gotama 'if I deserve approval, let the reverend Gotama express that approval' (AN II 35:28) Future participle Passive + imperative.

sace piṇḍapāto hoti upajjāyo ca bhuñjitukāmo hoti, udakam datvā piṇḍapāto upanāmetabbo 'if alms food is available and the master wishes to eat, give him water and then place that food before him' (VP I 46:31) Present + future participle passive.

sace te piṇḍakena attho etth'eva tiṭṭha 'if you are in need of food, stay here' (MN I 380:24) *atthi* understood + imperative.

II). When the protasis contains a possibility, then the optative is used both in the protasis and in the apodosis:

ahañ ce eva kho pana musāvādī assam attā pi maṃ upavadeyya musāvāda-paccayā 'if I were to tell a lie, my own self would reprehend me on account of telling a lie' (MN I 361:32)

pāpaṃ ce puriso kayirā na taṃ kayirā punappunam 'if a man were to do an evil action, he should not do it again and again' (Dpd 117)

evam ce sattā jāneyyūṃ vipākam samvibhāgassa, dajjūṃ kālēna ariyesu 'if people were to realize the merit of sharing, they would give to the noble ones at the right moment' (Itv 19:5)

III). When the protasis contains a condition that was not verified in the past or that is not verified in the present, then both clauses contain the verb in the optative, or one has it in the optative and the other in the conditional:

sace pi so bhikkhu cattāri ahirājakulāni mettēna cittaṇa phareyya na hi so bhikkhu ahinā datṭho kalam kareyya 'if that monk had extended his loving kindness to the four species of snakes, he would not have died of snake bite' (AN II 72:18)

sace tvam Tathāgatam yaceyyāsi dve vā tevācā Tathagato paṭikkhipeyya atha tatiyakam adhivaseyya 'if you had requested the Tathagata he might have refused the first and

the second time, but he would have yielded to the third request' (DN II 115:31)

no ce tam bālo duccintitacintī ca abhaviṣṣa dubbhāsītabhāsī dukkatakkammakārī, kena naṃ paṇḍitā jāneyyūṃ 'if the fool were not to think wrong thoughts and speak wrong words and perform wrong actions, how would wise people find him out?' (MN III 163:9)

no ce tam abhaviṣṣa ajātaṃ abhūtaṃ akataṃ asaṅkhataṃ nayidha jātaṃ bhūtaṃ kataṃ saṅkhataṃ nissaraṇaṃ paññāyetha 'if there were not something that is not born, not become, not made, not effected, it would be impossible to find an escape from what is born, become, made, effected' (Itv 37:6)

no cedam cakkhussa assādo abhaviṣṣa nayidam sattā cakkhusmiṃ sārājjeyyūṃ 'if there were to be no delight for the eye, people would no care for the eye' (SN IV 16:20)

sace Pessa muhuttaṃ nisideyya ... mahatā atthēna saṃyutto agamissa 'if Pessa had remained sitting a little longer, he would have gone away in the acquisition of a great attainment' (MN I 342:13)

309. Adjectival or relative clauses and phrases. Relative clauses and phrases do the work of adjectives and hence they qualify a noun or pronoun. A relative clause or phrase can be expressed

a). by means of a participle agreeing with a noun or pronoun as an adjective.

addasā Bhagavantam dūrato va āgacchantam 'he saw the Blessed One who was coming from far' (MN II 2:2)

b). by means of a tappurisa samasa:

sīla-sampanno bhikkhu 'a monk who is endowed with virtues'

gāma-gato puriso kammaṃ akāsi 'the man, who went to the village, did the work.'

brahmacariyam adesayi so Bhagavā nibbānogadha-gāminam 'the Blessed One preached the celibate life that leads to the plunge of Nibbana' (AN II 26:9)

ime hi cattāro therakaraṇā dhammā 'these are the four factors that constitute an elder' (AN II 23:10)

c). by means of a *kammadhāraya* samasa:

jāta-puriso kālam karissati 'the man who is born, will die.

d) by means of a *bahubhihi* samasa:

indriyesu gūṭadvāro bhikkhu nibbānassa santike hoti 'the monk who guards the gates of his senses, is in sight of nibbana.

idha puriso āgaccheyya ukkhittāsiko 'here a man might come with drawn sword' (MN I 377:20)

paduttha-cittam natvāna ekaccam idha puggalam 'having found the man who has a defiled mind' (Itv 13:1)

buddha-pamukho bhikkhu-saṅgho 'the monks with the Buddha as their leader' (Ud 39:9)

e). A construction that is very often used in Pali is that of two correlative clauses. In this construction, the subordinate relative clause is introduced by means of a relative pronoun, adjective or adverb, and the main clause is introduced by a demonstrative pronoun, adjective or adverb. These pronouns or adjectives are in the case required by the structure of the sentence

yo dhammam passati so Buddham passati 'he who sees the doctrine, sees the Buddha'

yam ekasmin thane khīram hoti tena rājā yapeti 'the king supports himself with the milk of one udder' (MN I 343:36)

Ānando yāvatako ahosi kathāsallāpo tam sabbam Bhagavato ārocesi 'Ananda related to the Blessed One all the conversation which had taken place'

yam akusalam tam pahīnam 'what is unprofitable, that has been eliminated' (Itv 31:10)

310. Clauses and phrases of time.

a). Temporal clauses are often expressed as correlative sentences with the main clause. The temporal clause is introduced with *yadā*, *yāva*, *yasmim samaye* and the main clause is introduced with *tadā*, *tāva*, *atha*, *tasmim samaye*.

yadā Bodhisatto okkamati atha uppanno obhāso pātubhavati 'when the Bodhisatta comes down then the light that has arisen shines' (DN II 12:6)

yāva imesaṃ satthā atthāsi tāva ime sikkhāpadam sikkhimsu 'so long as the Master was with them, they observed the precepts'

yasmim samaye olārīko atta-paṭilābho hoti, mogh'assa tasmim samaye manomayo atta-paṭilābho hoti 'when there is the coarse personality, then illusory is for him the mental personality' (DN I 199:23)

b). Sometimes only the temporal clause is introduced with a temporal particle like *yadā*, *yāva*, *atha*, *pure*

yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchim okkanto hoti, pakatiyā silavati Bodhisatta-mātā hoti 'when the Bodhisatta descends into the mother's womb, the mother of the Bodhisatta is naturally virtuous' (DN II 12:26)

pāpo pi passati bhadram yāva pāpam na paccati 'a sinful man may meet with success so long as the sinful action does not bear fruit' (Dpd 119)

handa mayam dhammañ ca vinayañ ca saṅgāyama pure adhammo dīppati dhammo paṭibāhiyati 'well, let us recite the doctrine and the discipline before the wrong doctrine asserts itself and the right doctrine goes down'

c). To indicate a past action in relation to the present, the main clause is introduced with *ito* followed by the expression

that indicates the time that has elapsed, and the temporal clause is expressed with *yam* and the past tense:

ito eko navuto kappo yam Vipassī udapādi 'it is the ninety first kalpa since Vipassī arose'

Sometimes the length of time is placed in the locative case preceded by *ito*:

ito sataṣaḥassamhi kappe uppajji cakkhumā 'it is one hundred thousand kalpas since the wise one arose'

When the time is indicated with a general expression like *it* is a long time since, the sentence is usually introduced with *cirassam* and sometimes even with *cirakālam*, *cirapaṭikam* and the verb of the main clause is usually in the past tense:

cirassam kho tvam upāsaka imam pariyāyam akāsi yadidam idh'āgamanāya 'it is a long time, O upāsaka, since you took this line of action, i.e. of coming this way' (Ud 13.10)

cirapaṭikāham Bhagavantam dassanāya upasaṅkamitu-kāmo 'for a long time I have been wishing to come and see the Blessed One' (DN II 279:6)

d). When an action takes place between two other events, then the two events are expressed by correlative clauses and the main action is expressed in the main clause beginning with a phrase of time like *etasmim antare*:

yañ ca rattim Tathāgato abhisanbujjhati yañ ca rattim parinibbāyati yam etasmim antare bhāsati 'whatever the Tathagata says between the night of his enlightenment and the night of his Nibbana' (DN II 24:2)

e). The gerund is used to express an action anterior to that of the main verb:

atha kho Bhagavā pubbanha-samayam nivāsetvā patta-civaram ādāya Sāvatthim pindāya pāvisi 'the Blessed one dressed in the morning, took his bowl and robe and entered Savatthi for alms' (DN I 178:7)

f). A present or past participle is used to express an action that is contemporaneous with or anterior to that denoted by the verb of the main clause.

addasa kumāro uyyāna-bhūmim niyyanto purisam jinnam 'while he was going to the park, the prince saw an old man' (DN II 23:1)

atha kho Bhagavā sāyanha-samayam patisallānā vutthito yena Kareri-maṇḍalo tena upasaṅkamī 'then the Blessed One went to the Kareri hall after coming out of his meditation in the evening' (DN II 9:10)

ekam idhāham samayam Uruvelāyam viharāmi ... paṭhamābhisaṃbuddho 'on one occasion I was dwelling at Uruvela soon after I had been enlightened' (AN II 20:5)

acirūpasampanno kho pana āyasmā Seniya eko vūpakaṭṭho appamatto ātāpi pahitatto viharanto ... 'not long after he had been ordained, the reverend Seniya dwelling alone and in solitude, diligent and alert ...' (MN I 391:35)

g). The locative and the genitive absolute are often used as temporal phrases:

acira-pakkantassa Bhagavato ayam antarā kathā udapādi 'not long after the Blessed One had gone away, this chance conversation arose' (DN II 9:17)

atha kho Bhagavā acirūpasampanne āyasmante Ratthapāle addhamāsūpasampanne Thullakoṭṭhite yathā abhirantam viharitvā yena Sāvatthi tena cārikam pakkāmi 'not long after the reverend Ratthapala had been ordained, that is half a month after he had been ordained, the Blessed One stayed at Thullakoṭṭhita as long as it seemed good, and then wended his way towards Savatthi' (MN II 60:31)

h). Time can also be expressed by a *tappurisa samāsa* built with a noun, or a participle or an action noun in *-āna* combined with a noun indicating time, like *kāla*, *divasa*, *vassa*, *māsa* etc.

Bhagavā maṃ parinibbāna-kāle evaṃ āha 'the Blessed One spoke to me thus when he was passing away'

rañño abhiseka-divase 'on the day the king was anointed'

- i). Time can also be expressed with a kammādhara or an avyayibhāva samāsa:

sattāhaccayena 'when seven days had passed'

yāva-jīvaṃ 'as long as life lasts'

- j). The gerund *patthāya* and some adverbs governing the ablative are used as temporal phrases: *dahara-kālato patthāya* 'from the time when he was young'; *paraṃ maraṇā, purā aruṇā* 'after death, before dawn'

311. Final clauses and phrases.

- a). A final clause is expressed by means of a sentence in direct speech with the particle *ti*

paṇḍitā me āgacchatu ti sīlaṃ rakkheyya paṇḍito 'the wise should practise virtue in order to win praise' (Itv 67:6)

- b). A final clause can be expressed with a phrase with the infinitive of the verb, or with the dative of the action noun in *-na*:

nadiṃ gamissāma sināyitum 'we'll go to the river to bathe'

bhagavantam dassanāya upasaṅkami 'he came that he might see the Blessed One'

- c). A final phrase is expressed by means of a tappurisa samāsa built up with an action noun followed by the accusative *attham*:

nayidaṃ brahmacariyaṃ vussati janakuhanattham 'this celibate life is not lived for the sake of deceiving people' (Itv 28:7)

312. Consecutive clauses. A consecutive clause is introduced by *yathā* or a similar adverb like *yena* and sometimes even by *yatra hi nāma*, while the main clause often begins with *tathā*, *yāva*, *sādhū* and similar words. The optative is generally used in the consecutive

clause after *yathā*, while the future is found after *yatra hi nāma*. But the future is also found after *yathā* and the present after *yatra hi nāma*. When the consecutive clause is negative, it is introduced by *yathā na* or simply by *mā*:

pahoti Bhagavā tathā dhammam desetuṃ yathā ahañ ca eva imaṃ govataṃ pajaheyyaṃ 'can the Blessed One preach the doctrine in such a way that I may give up this practice of living like a cow?' (MN I 389:14)

rājā kumārassa bhiyyoso mattāya pañca-kāma-guṇāni upatthāpesi yathā kumāro rajjaṃ kareyya yathā na pabbajjeyya 'the king supplied the prince still more with the five pleasures so that the prince might succeed to the kingdom and not go forth' (DN II 23:23)

sādhū bhante Bhagavā Kiṭṭāgirim bhikkhu pahineyya yathāyaṃ Kiṭṭāgirim āvāso saṅghaheyya 'it would be good, O Lord, if the Blessed One were to send monks to Kitagiri so that this residence at Kitagiri might be settled'.

yāva pāpo ayaṃ Devadatto alakkhiko yatra hi nāma samaṇassa Gotamassa vadhāya parakkamissati 'how evil is this Devadatta and how unfortunate that he should have tried to murder the recluse Gotama' (VP II 196:5)

pesalānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ phāsuvihārāya mā pāpicchā saṅghaṃ bhindeyyuṃ 'for the living in comfort of well behaved monks lest those of evil desires might split the order' (VP II 196-24)

handa mayaṃ tathā vihāraṃ kappema tathā no vharataṃ Bhagavā attamano assa 'well, let us live in such a way that the Blessed One may be pleased with us' (Ud 25:22)

tath'attānaṃ niveseyya yathā bhūrī pavaḍḍhati 'he should conduct himself in such a way that wisdom may increase' (Dpd 282)

olārikassa kho ahaṃ patta-paṭilābhassa pahānāya dhammam desemi yathā paṭipannānaṃ vo saṅkilesikā dhammā pahīyissanti,

vodāniyā dhammā abhivaḍḍhissanti 'I preach the doctrine which leads to casting away the coarse personality so that if you walk according to it, the evil dispositions will be eliminated, and the dispositions that lead to purification will increase' (DN I 195:30)

313. **Concessive clauses.** A concessive clause is expressed with the particle *pi/apī* alone or with the particle *ce*. The verb of this clause is usually a participle, but other verbal forms may be found

chinno pi rukkho punar eva ruhati 'though the tree is cut, it grows again' (Dpd 338)

bahum pi ce sahitaṃ bhasamāno na takkarō hoti naro pamatto ... na bhagavā sāmāññassa hoti 'even if he recites the sacred text repeatedly but does not act accordingly. such a slothful man has no share in the blessings of a recluse' (Dpd 19)

yāvajīvaṃ pi ce bālo paṇḍitaṃ payirupāsati na so dhammaṃ vijānāti 'even if a fool associate with a wise man all his life, he does not understand the doctrine' (Dpd 64)

314. **Clauses and phrases of cause.**

a). A causal sentence is expressed with *yathvādhikaranam* and the optative or with *yato* and the indicative:

yatvādhikaraṇaṃ ekaṃ cakkhundriyaṃ asaṃvutaṃ viharantaṃ abhiññādomanassa pāpakā akusalā dhammā anvassaveyyum tassa saṃvarāya paṭipajjati 'since covetousness and dejection, evil and unprofitable states might flow into the man that abides with eyes unguarded, he applies himself to control them' (MN I 346:11)

svāgataṃ teṣaṃ yato me dhammaṃ rocenti 'welcome to them since they approve of my doctrine' (VP II 200:2)

b). A correlative sentence is sometimes used to express the cause:

tiṭṭhatu esā bhante kathā yāya mayaṃ etarahi kathāya sannisinā 'Sir, let us leave aside the conversation on account of which we have been sitting together' (DN I 179:28)

yato ca hoti pāpiccho ahiriko anādaro tato pāpaṃ pasavati 'since the evil man is without shame and without respect, therefore he does evil actions' (Itv 34:16)

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